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THE AUTHORSHIP OF TWO ITALIAN GENTLEMEN

The authorship of the early Elizabethan comedy *Fidele and Fortunio*, the *Two Italian Gentlemen*, long ascribed to Anthony Munday, has recently been called in question and an attempt has been made to assign the play to George Chapman. It is not, perhaps, a matter of supreme importance which of these authors is responsible for this play. It is not an original work¹ and has little intrinsic value. As the latest editor of Chapman, however, I feel bound to give my reasons for the exclusion of this play from the recently published edition of his comedies, and to explain why it will not appear in the supplementary volume of *Chapman's Plays and Poems*, where, if there were any sufficient reason for attaching it to his name, the student of Chapman might reasonably expect to find it. I wish therefore to make a somewhat more detailed examination than has yet appeared of the history of this play and of the reasons for ascribing it to Munday or Chapman.

The *Stationers' Register* for November 12, 1584, contains the following entry:

A booke entituled fedele et fortuna. The deceiptes in love Discoursed in a Commedia of ii Italiyan gent. and translated into English.

Apart from a reference to one of the characters, Crackstone, and his "cannibal words" by Nash ("Have with you to Saffron Walden," *Works*, III, 102) there is, so far as I know, no contemporary allusion

¹ The play is an adaptation of Luigi Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele*, 1576. A Latin version of this play by Abraham Fraunce, dating ca. 1582-83, has been edited by Professor Moore Smith in the *Materialien zur Kunde*. Fraunce's work follows the original much more closely than the English play does. See *Modern Language Review*, III, 178.

to this play, and apart from certain inaccurate references in Langbaine and the old play lists, it was apparently lost to sight till rediscovered by Collier, who gave a short account of it in his *History of English Dramatic Poetry* (ed. 1831, p. 241). Halliwell printed some extracts in his *Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, and recently, a copy of the original Q having turned up in the Duke of Devonshire's library, it has been reprinted by the Malone Society (1909).

Collier in a note (p. 241) stated that "not more than two copies of this piece are known to exist, one without the title-page, the other wanting also the dedication." The Devonshire copy, apparently one of those known to Collier, lacks both title-page and dedication, and no other copy is at present known to exist. It has been suggested therefore (*Malone Society Collections*, I, 3, pp. 219 ff.) that Collier's copy containing the dedication signed A.M. may never have existed and that the dedication may be the composition of Collier himself. After my discovery of Collier's forgery of the dedication to *All Fools* no one can be more likely than myself to suspect an unsupported statement of Collier's, but in this case there seems to be another witness to the existence of the copy containing the Dedication. Hazlitt (*Handbook to English Literature*, p. 406) has the following statement:

Only two copies are known, neither of which has the title-page. . . . Dedicated to John Heardston, Esq., by A.M.; on the reverse of this dedication is a Prologue spoken before the Queen, consisting of two six-line stanzas. The dedication is printed in Collier's *H.E.D.P.*; it is only in one of the two known copies.

An attempt has been made by Mr. Greg, the editor of the *Malone Society Collection* (I, 3, p. 220), to discredit this corroboration on the ground that Hazlitt mentions a Prologue to the Queen which Collier does not, although such a prologue would naturally have caught his attention. He then goes on to suggest that Collier's citation (*H.E.D.P.*, p. 243) of two six-line stanzas is responsible for Hazlitt's statement, and concludes: "It would be unsafe to regard Hazlitt's note as anything but a confused and inaccurate summary of Collier's description." This conclusion seems to me, I confess, quite too severe. Since Collier does not mention a Prologue before the Queen—he

states in fact that we do not know whether the play was ever acted—Hazlitt cannot by any process of reasoning however confused have got the idea of such a prologue from Collier. The stanzas quoted by Collier¹ are a love-song and cannot possibly be taken as a prologue of any sort and, a point which Mr. Greg fails to note, Hazlitt makes the explicit statement that they occur on "the reverse of the Dedication," whereas Collier's citation is taken from the body of the play (B, iii, *verso*). I think one of two things is clear: either Hazlitt saw a copy of Q containing both Dedication and Prologue, or he deliberately invented the latter. In the first case we have a corroboration of Collier's statement as to the Dedication; in the latter a false statement as discreditable to Hazlitt as the suggested forgery of the Dedication would be to Collier. I cannot help feeling that the first of these alternatives is the more credible.

Further, Mr. Greg attempts to challenge the authenticity of the Dedication² printed by Collier on stylistic grounds:

There are two passages [he says] which seem slightly suspicious; . . . in connection with the phrase "impeach me of presumption" it should be observed that while "to impeach of an act" is a common construction, there seems no authority for "to impeach of a quality." Again the phrase "the delicate conveyance" seems to mean the delicate manner in which the idea is communicated, but the earliest instance of conveyance in the sense of communication cited by the N.E.D. is dated 1662, though it seems indeed to have been used by Nash as early as 1594 (*Unfortunate Traveller*, ep. ded.).

In regard to the first of these I may say that while I cannot find an exact parallel to the phrase of the dedication, the N.E.D.

¹ If love be like the flower that in the night,
When darkness drowns the glory of the skies,
Smells sweet and glitters in the gazer's sight;
But when the gladsome sun begins to rise,
And he that views it would the same embrace,
It withereth and loseth all his grace.

Why do I love, and like the cursed tree,
Whose buds appear, but fruit will not be seen?
Why do I languish for the flower I see,
Whose root is rot when all the leaves are green?
In such a case, it is a point of skill
To follow chance, and love against my will.

² I reprint here the significant portions of the dedication:
"To the worshipfull and very courteous Gentleman, Maister John Heardson, Esquier, A.M.
commendeth this pleasant and fine conceited Comedie."

"Woorshipful sir, my acquaintance with you is very little, which may impeach me
of presumption in this mine attempt: but the good report of your affable nature to every
one, giveth me hope to be entertained amongst them. I commende to your frendly viewe
this prettie conceit, as well for the invention, as the delicate conveiance thereof."

(s.v. "impeach," 4) has "impeach me with error" under the date of 1590, and "impeach" as a substantive occurs in a very similar phrase,¹ "no impeach of valor," in 3 K.H. VI, i. 4. 60. As to "conveyance," Nash's phrase "some reasonable conveyance of history" seems to me a very close parallel to the use of this word in the dedication. In both "conveyance" means "treatment," "form of expression," as opposed to "invention" i.e., originality. The N.E.D. (s.v. "conveyance," 9) gives several examples of this use of the word. One of these from Robinson's translation of *Utopia* (1551) has the same collocation of words as the epistle, i.e., "witty invention and fine conveyance." These are, indeed, as Mr. Greg himself admits, "slender grounds for pronouncing the epistle a forgery." I think in fact that even on stylistic grounds a stronger proof than this can be cited to show that it is really the work of Anthony Munday and not a forgery by Collier. This is the use of the adjective "delicate" in reference to style, which appears to have been a favorite word of Munday's. The title-page of *Zelauto* (1580) speaks of that book as containing a "delicate disputation"; and that of the *Banquet of Dainty Conceits* (1584) has the phrase "delicate and choice inventions." Another piece of evidence testifying to Munday's authorship of the play, and therefore presumably of the dedication, may be found in a parallel which occurs between the entry, cited above, in S.R. of *Fidele and Fortunio*, which no doubt represents the lost title-page of this play, and the title-page of *Zelauto*; the first contains the words "deceiptes in love discoursed in a Commedia of ii Italian gent.;" the second, "a disputation gallantly discoursed between two noble gentlemen of Italye."

After this attempt, hardly successful it seems to me, to disprove the hitherto accepted authorship, the editor goes on to introduce the new claimant. This he does on the basis of the interesting discovery made by Mr. Charles Crawford that two couplets of this play (ll. 661-62 and 655-56) are quoted under the heading "Woman" in *England's Parnassus* (1600) and are ascribed by the editor of that work to George Chapman. In his recent edition of *England's Parnassus*, where the lines in question appear on p. 231, Mr. Crawford

¹ Cf. also "apeach of ungentilenesse," and "apeach of treason" in *Faerie Queene*, III, x, 6, 8; and V, v, 37, 3.

repeats the statement over and over that this assignment proves Chapman's authorship (see pp. xix, xx, xxi, xxiv, 494-95 and 537). I yield to no man in my admiration of Mr. Crawford's tireless industry and wide reading in the field of Elizabethan literature, but I cannot but feel that he has been rash in accepting this ascription as proof positive of Chapman's authorship. The value of such an ascription depends wholly upon the character of the ascriber. What was Allot's character as a connoisseur of contemporary literature? I will let Mr. Crawford answer: "his range of reading is not a very wide one" (p. xxv), he had a "bad judgement and a treacherous memory." His method of work described by Mr. Crawford (pp. xxv-xxvi and 449) was absolutely certain to lead to errors, and, as a matter of fact, 130 of the 2,350 quotations in the work Mr. Crawford shows to be wrongly ascribed (pp. xxv and 542-44). Thus, for example, immediately after the lines from *Two Italian Gentlemen* which Allot ascribes to Chapman come three lines with the signature *Idem* (i.e., Chapman), which, as Crawford points out, occur in *Tottel's Miscellany*. Further, three passages from Chapman's known works (Nos. 1536, 1715, and 2098) are ascribed to Spenser. Mr. Crawford himself makes light of Allot's authority when it conflicts with his own opinions, as in the case of the anonymous play *Selimus* which Allot assigns to Greene and Crawford holds to be Marlowe's.

It is plain, I think, that an ascription by such an editor as Allot cannot be regarded as possessing any positive authority. It is useful only as furnishing a clue, a hypothesis of authorship, to be confirmed or disproved by further research. Mr. Crawford recognizes this, for he goes on to confirm Allot's ascription of this play to Chapman by arguments which deserve our consideration.

In the first place, he holds that Allot was on terms of intimacy with Chapman (p. 495), who told him that "*Two Italian Gentlemen* was his work" (p. xxx). For this intimacy Mr. Crawford adduces the following reasons: Two of Allot's quotations from Chapman's continuation of *Hero and Leander* show variant readings, "obviously designed by Chapman himself." The first of these (No. 258 in Crawford's *England's Parnassus*) does in fact appear to be a better reading than that of the printed text. The second (No. 1590) is

a palpable misprint, "audacious" for the authentic "and actions." Mr. Crawford in his note on this passage (p. 483) goes so far as to say that there is "sound sense in his reading which happens to repeat a sentiment that occurs frequently in Chapman." If he had carefully examined the passage (*H. and L.*, III, 60-64) from which this quotation is taken, he would have seen that in it Chapman is rebuking the rash audacity of Leander in enjoying Hero. Time, he says, and ceremony would have banished all offense. To read "audacious" in l. 63 is to declare that time makes legitimate every birth (i.e., deed) of audacious men, which is the exact opposite of what Chapman has just been saying. I am quite ready to admit that the first of this pair of quotations shows that Allot may have printed from a manuscript copy of *Hero and Leander* (not necessarily in Chapman's own possession) in which the true reading occurred, but the second proves less than nothing, being in fact a blunder due either to Allot himself or his printer.

Again, Mr. Crawford holds that the quotation (No. 2240) assigned to Marlowe, but appearing nowhere else than in this collection, must have come into Allot's hands through Chapman, who "had access to Marlowe's papers" after that poet's death (p. xxix). This seems to me a chain of hypotheses. In the first place it assumes that the passage is from an unknown poem by Marlowe,¹ in the second, that Chapman had access to Marlowe's papers, in the third, that Allot could have seen the poem from which this quotation is taken only through Chapman. Not one of these, I venture to say, is an established fact, though all are possible. One cannot establish an intimacy between Allot and Chapman on such grounds as these. Neither does the fact that Allot assigns four quotations (Nos. 777, 1842, 2054, and 2055) to Chapman which have not yet been traced to his published work prove, as Mr. Crawford seems to assume (pp. xxx and 495), that Allot enjoyed special privileges with Chapman. These quotations may all come from Chapman's works, but when we remember the practice of Elizabethan poets of allowing their works to circulate in manuscript before publication, this would only show

¹ I have not the time or space to discuss here the question of Marlowe's authorship of the interesting fragment in *England's Parnassus*. I can only say that the verse-form, a stanza rhyming *abababcc* does not appear in any of his known work, which seems to me a *prima facie* argument against it.

that Allot found these quotations in manuscript poems of Chapman's—by no means that Chapman showed them to him in manuscript (p. 495). There are five authors represented in *England's Parnassus* to whom more untraced quotations are assigned by Allot than the four he gives Chapman. Are we to hold that he lived on still greater terms of intimacy with these writers?

Further, on pages xxxix and 495 Mr. Crawford gives a slight summary of other arguments which he holds point to Chapman's authorship. In the first place, the play was composed about 1584, when Chapman was twenty-five years old. This of course is only an argument for the possibility of his having written it. As a matter of fact, it seems to me that the early date tells rather heavily against Chapman's authorship. Nothing is known of Chapman between his entrance to one of the universities in 1574 (*Athenae Oxonienses*, II, col. 575) and the publication of his *Shadow of Night* in 1594. I can hardly believe that Chapman could have composed this play in 1584. Collier seems uncertain whether this play was ever performed, but the elaborate stage directions (see those after ll. 75, 191, 270, 384, and 433 in the Malone Society reprint) show plainly that the Q was printed from a stage copy. We may therefore assume a production of this play and Nash's reference (see above p. 65) would seem to show that one of its characters, Crackstone,¹ had become well known. This implies a certain amount of success and it seems to me unlikely, to say the least, that Chapman, if he were the author, should have relapsed into non-production and obscurity for another ten years.

The internal evidence which Mr. Crawford brings forward as corroboration (p. xxxiv) is as follows: it agrees with known work of the poet in displaying a peculiar kind of humor and fondness for practical joking, its comic characters are inveterate punsters, they invent "cannibal words," and make a point of putting the cart before the horse, Crackstone in this respect being a worthy precursor of Poggio in *The Gentleman Usher*. Even if we were to grant all this, it does not seem to me very convincing. Mr. Greg, who accepts Allot's ascription of the play to Chapman, remarks that Mr. Crawford's

¹ Nash couples Crackstone with the well-known figure of Basilisco in *Soliman and Perseda*.

opinion as to the resemblance of the humor of the play to that of Chapman is "necessarily of too personal a character to add much to the weight of the external evidence" (*Mal. Soc. Col.*, I, 3, p. 222).

Chapman's known work bears everywhere the sign manual of his authorship, and it has not been a matter of great difficulty to reclaim his unsigned plays *Sir Giles Goosecap* and *Charlemagne* (published by Bullen as *The Distracted Emperor*) or to detect his share in the collaborated plays *Cabot* and *Eastward Ho!* But a careful study of the *Two Italian Gentlemen* has not revealed to me a single trace of Chapman's well-known style. The shambling, irregular meter and the stanzaic forms inserted in the dialogue (see for instance ll. 412-17) are quite unlike anything in Chapman. Puns and practical joking occur, of course, in all early Elizabethan comedy and prove nothing as to authorship. The one positive similarity that Mr. Crawford finds is between Crackstone and Poggio, and even here I must take issue with him. Crackstone is a translation of the stock figure of Italian comedy, the *Miles Gloriosus*, into English. Like his original he is a boaster and a coward; but the translator has equipped him with a "humour" of malapropisms and "cannibal words." He says "chaplen" for "champion" (l. 1073); "infancie" for "infamy" (l. 1349); "liberalitie" for "liberty" (l. 1655); he misuses proper names: "Juniper" for "Jupiter" (l. 836), "Sampier" for "Sampson" (l. 1397), "Pedantonie" for "Pedante" (l. 1524). He uses such words as "magnaniminstrelsie" (l. 129), "terrebinthinall" (l. 844), "perplexionablest" (l. 1453), and "conswapted" (l. 1579). Poggio is quite another type. Like his predecessor, Sir Giles Goosecap, he is a well-born but half-imbecile gentleman whose muddled thought cannot distinguish reality from imagination and expresses itself in muddled language. "He speaks muddles still" (*Gentleman Usher*, III, iii, 218). Thus Poggio beats a smith in his sleep, runs out "with his heels about his hose" (*G.U.*, I, i, 47-48), and gives an account of the wounding of Vincentio (V, ii, 71-75) which is a perfect masterpiece of bad reporting. I do not find anywhere in Poggio's speech the deliberate malapropisms and "cannibal words" of Crackstone, and vice versa I find only once or twice in Crackstone the trick of putting the cart before the horse in speech (l. 71, "with a fresh hed in my toy"; l. 1538 "fair fooles makes

words . . . fain")¹ which earns Poggio his nickname of "Cousin Hysteron Proteron." In *Modern Philology*, XIII, 215, M. Schoell has pointed out that both Poggio and Sir Giles derive from Le Sieur Gaulard of Estienne Tabourot's *Les apophegmes du Sieur Gaulard*, a silly country gentleman who was continually doing and saying foolish things. M. Schoell's accumulation of parallels proves conclusively that Chapman drew upon this work for the character of Goosecap and in a less degree for that of Poggio.

Crackstone and Poggio, then, have a different ancestry, represent different "humours," and have only the superficial resemblance that both entertain the audience by a misuse—different in each case—of their mother-tongue. I do not think this goes to prove a common authorship.

Such then are the proofs that have been alleged for Chapman's authorship of *Two Italian Gentlemen*. I cannot believe that they have any validity, and it might seem that they were hardly worth refuting. But an assertion made as positively and repeatedly as Mr. Crawford has made that of Chapman's authorship has a way of getting itself repeated and tacitly accepted. I think, however, that no careful student of Chapman can ever believe that he wrote this play. In Mr. Crawford's own words (p. 495), "nobody would have thought of associating him with such a crude effort if the compiler of *England's Parnassus* had not assigned the play to him." And I think that henceforth no one will do so, unless he accepts Mr. Crawford's conclusion that in this case—though not elsewhere—Allot's ascription possesses final authority.

I hold no brief for Munday's authorship of this play. But in closing I would like to call attention to certain facts which seem to me to point very clearly to Munday as the author.

In the first place the dedication printed by Collier is signed with his initials, A. M. Under the circumstances I do not attach great weight to this dedication, but until it has been proved a forgery it establishes at least a presumption for Munday.

Secondly, the date 1584 suits Munday far better than it does Chapman. Munday had been in Italy in 1578-79, during which time

¹ Cf. a similar trick by Pedante (l. 1486). In all three cases the trick is used to make a comic rhyme. It is not a "humour" of the character.

he might have read or seen *Il Fedele*. In 1580 he was back in London, working and apparently acting. He found a patron in the Italianate Earl of Oxford to whom he dedicated several works. He signs himself repeatedly Oxford's "servant," and this may mean that he was a member of Oxford's company of actors. No doubt a version for them of a new and popular Italian comedy would have pleased the Earl. It is certain, at least, that the date of this play before 1584 comes at a time when Munday was in the very heyday of his productivity, writing poems, ballads, pamphlets, romances, and perhaps one other play.¹

Thirdly, there is the interesting fact that a passage of this play (ll. 224-40) containing three six-line stanzas appears with a few trifling variations in *England's Helicon* over the signature Shepherd Tony. Mr. Crawford, it is true, altogether rejects (p. 518) the usual identification of this author with Anthony Munday. I have not time to debate this matter at length, but would call attention to two facts: first, that this stanza with the rhyme-scheme ababcc is not uncommon in Munday's work. I note instances in *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (*Webster's Works*, IV, 250), in the two Robin Hood plays (see Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, VIII, 158, 159, 198), in *John d Kent* (I, iii), and in his *Sundry Examples* (1580). Moreover in 1583 Munday published a volume now lost called *The Sweet Sobs and Amourous Complaints of Shepherds and Nymphs*. This seems to have attracted considerable attention. Webster in his *Discourse of English Poetry*, 1586, praises Munday's work, especially upon the subject of nymphs and shepherds. This would seem a good reason for the title of "Shepherd Tony," a signature attached to seven poems in *England's Helicon*. Lastly, and this seems to me a clinching argument, another of the poems ascribed in *England's Helicon* to Shepherd Tony appears in Munday's romance *Primaleon* (1609). This work was translated from the French version of Chappuis, but the verse does not appear in the original (see Bullen's edition of *England's Helicon*, p. viii).

There are, moreover, a number of interesting resemblances between *Two Italian Gentlemen* and the plays in which Munday is

¹ Fleay holds that Munday wrote the play *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* about 1584 for Oxford's company. This may be true, but if so the play has been carefully revised. Murray (*English Dramatic Companies*) admits the possibility of this ascription, but a later date (ca. 1600) is suggested in the Malone Society reprint, 1912.

known to have had a hand. No very close parallels can be expected, for a considerable period of time intervenes between this play and the earliest of the others (*John d Kent* is supposed to date about 1595) during which time a great development in the drama had taken place, including among other things the substitution of blank verse for the "jigging veins of rhyming mother wits." Moreover, *Two Italian Gentlemen* is not an original play, but an adaptation of an Italian comedy. I note, however, in *John d Kent* a comic misuse of words like that of Crackstone, "retoritie" for "authority," "accessary" for "necessary" (I, 3), etc.; such "cannibal words" as "ministrically," "prerogastride" (II, 2); mock Latin (I, 3) such as Crackstone uses (ll. 398-406), the word *Pediculus* (II, 2) applied to a schoolmaster as Crackstone uses it (l. 1459), and an occasional use of the six-line stanza already referred to. In the *Downfall of Robin Hood* (pp. 135, 139) we have a number of comic "malapropisms" not unlike some of Crackstone's, and a variety of meters which reminds one somewhat of the varying metrical form of *Two Italian Gentlemen*. Although by the time of the *Robin Hood* plays (1598) blank verse was established as the recognized form of dramatic verse, I find in these plays not only blank verse but Skeltonic verse, rhymed couplets, alternate rhymes, Munday's favorite six-line stanza, and a frequent use of four-foot verse. I doubt whether with our present knowledge of Munday's dramatic work it would be possible to establish on internal evidence a convincing argument for his authorship of any anonymous play; but the facts that I have mentioned seem to me to point directly to him.

External and internal evidence alike, then, make it probable that Munday was the translator of this work; and, as every student of our early drama knows, a fair degree of probability is, as a rule, all that we can expect to obtain in questions such as this. Certainly, if I am any judge of the facts, the claim set up for Chapman weighs as nothing in the balance of probabilities against the traditional assignment of the play to Antony Munday.

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IS THE LATE LANCASHIRE WITCHES A REVISION?

An article by Professor C. E. Andrews in *Modern Language Notes* of June, 1913,¹ brings up for renewed consideration the question of the authorship, and incidentally the date, of Heywood and Brome's play, *The Late Lancashire Witches*. In *A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718*² Professor Wallace Notestein has taken issue with historians of the drama as to the history of this play. It is well known that it was put upon the stage in 1634 to take advantage of the excitement caused in London by the bringing to the city of certain women from Lancashire who had been tried for witchcraft in 1633, and that a considerable portion of the play is based upon the depositions of witnesses and defendants in the case. In chapter vii of his scholarly and extremely interesting book Notestein gives the history of the affair. He had, in the preceding chapter, given an account of another Lancashire witchcraft delusion taking place in 1612, as a result of which eleven persons had been condemned to death. Of this trial we possess a contemporary account, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, by Thomas Potts.³ The later disturbance was directly connected with the earlier, both occurring in the Forest of Pendle. Early in 1633 charges of witchcraft were brought against a group of women who were tried at the Lancaster assizes, the principal witness against them being an eleven-year-old boy, Edmund Robinson. Of the accused a large number were found guilty. The judges apparently suspected a miscarriage of justice, for they reported the case to the Privy Council. Dr. Bridgman, Bishop of Chester, was deputed to investigate the case, and as a result of his work four of the women were, in June, 1634, sent up to London for examination by the king's surgeons and a committee of midwives. The boy Edmund Robinson and his father were likewise summoned to London, and presently confessed that

¹ Reprinted in Andrews, "Richard Brome: A Study of His Life and Works," *Yale Studies in English*, XLVI (1913), 48-53.

² Prize Essay of the American Historical Association, 1909. Published by the Association, Washington, 1911.

³ Ed. by James Crossley in *Chetham Soc. Publ.*, VI (1845).

the witchcraft charge was an imposture pure and simple. Notestein goes on to say:

Before final judgment had been given on the Lancashire women Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome, well-known dramatists, had written a play on the subject which was at once published and "acted at the Globe on the Bankside by His Majesty's Actors." By some it has been supposed that this play was an older play founded on the Lancashire affair of 1612 and warmed over in 1634; but the main incidents and the characters of the play are so fully copied from the depositions of the young Robinson and from the charges preferred against Mary Spencer, Frances Dickonson, and Margaret Johnson that a layman would at once pronounce it a play written entirely to order from the affair of 1634.¹

For the theory that the present play is a reworking by Brome, or by Heywood and Brome, of an earlier play by Heywood, Fleay is responsible. His opinion may be summarized as follows. The story of Mrs. Generous, I, i; II, ii, v; III, ii; IV, ii, iv, v; V, ii, iii, iv, v (part), is Heywood's, "considerably accommodated by Brome," and "is founded on *The Witches of Lancaster* by T. Potts, 1613." Brome contributes the Seely story, I, ii; III, i, iii; IV, iii; V, i, v (part). The witch scenes, II, i, iiiia, iv; IV, i, are Heywood's, with alterations by Brome. In brief, then, this is an old play of Heywood's, from which a very considerable portion was excised and replaced by Brome's story of the troubles of the Seely family, while the rest was subjected to revision by Brome.

This opinion is echoed by Ward in his *English Dramatic Literature*² and in his chapter on Heywood in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, where he says:

The Late Lancashire Witches was printed in 1634 as the joint work of Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome. But the story of the play was based, in part, upon an account, published in 1613, of the doings of certain Lancashire women, of whom twelve had suffered death as witches in the previous year; and it is possible that Heywood was the author of a play much earlier than that put upon the stage in 1634.³

Schelling does not mention the theory of an older play, finds the source in "the notorious trials for witchcraft of 1633," adds that "the composition of the play must have followed so close on the events that its influence in forestalling the judgment of the courts which tried

¹ Pp. 158-59.

² Ed. of 1899, II, 575.

³ VI, 118.

these unfortunate creatures can scarcely be considered as negligible,"¹ and then misdates the play 1633. Andrews brings forward additional evidence for the revision theory, but takes from Brome a large portion of the play which has heretofore been credited to him. That Notestein is right in his assumption that *The Late Lancashire Witches* was an entirely new play, the product of the joint authorship, of Heywood and Brome, written in 1634, it is the purpose of this paper to show.

Deferring for the present any discussion of authorship, let us consider the question of source. Is there any use of material older than 1633 which would give ground for assuming that we have a 1634 revision of an older play? The account of the play in the *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*² presents some sound reasoning by Fleay, but is marred by an unusual number of Fleavian errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions. Fleay, followed by Ward, asserts that the story of Mrs. Generous is founded upon Potts's account of the 1612 affair. So far from being accurate is this statement that there can be found but two points of similarity between the play and Potts's narrative. (a) In each case a woman of good birth and social standing is found guilty of witchcraft; otherwise Mrs. Generous has no points of resemblance to unfortunate Alice Nutter. (b) In IV, ii, after Mrs. Generous has confessed that she has made a contract with the devil, occur these lines:

Gen. Resolve me, how farre doth that contract stretch?

Mrs. What interest in this Soule, my selfe coo'd claime
I freely gave him, but his part that made it
I still reserve, not being mine to give.

Gen. O cunning Divell, foolish woman know
Where he can clayme but the least little part,
He will usurpe the whole; th'art a lost woman.³

In the examination of James Device, one of the accused in the trial of 1612, he deposed that there appeared to him a thing like a browne Dogge, who asked this Examinate to giue him his Soule, and he should be reuenged of any whom hee wold: whereunto this Examinate answered, that his Soule was not his to giue, but was his Sauior Iesus Christ's, but as much as was in him this Examinate to giue, he was contented he shold haue it.⁴

¹ *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 363.

² I, 301-3.

³ *L. L. W.*, p. 227.

⁴ Crossley, *op. cit.*, sig. H3 verso.

Again in his confession:

that the said Spirit did appeare vnto him after sundrie times, in the likenesse of a Dogge, and at every time most earnestly perswaded him to giue him his Soule absolutely: who answered as before, that he would giue him his owne part and no further. And hee saith, that at the last time that the said Spirit was with him, which was the Tuesday next before his apprehension; when as hee could not preuaile with him to haue his Soule absolutely granted vnto him, as aforesaid; the said Spirit departed from him, then giuing a most feareful crie and yell, etc.¹

The verbal likeness is not so close as to be striking, and the parallel loses most of its force when we remember that the belief voiced by James Device was common at the time, and may be found in various contemporary treatises on witchcraft.² For the delusion that the play is "founded on" Potts, Crossley, the editor of Potts's narrative, may be inadvertently responsible. In his notes he says: "Alice Nutter was doubtless the original of the story of which Heywood availed himself . . . which is frequently noticed by the writers of the 17th century—that the wife of a Lancashire gentleman had been detected in practising witchcraft and unlawful acts, and condemned and executed."³ Now note that Crossley does not state that Heywood used Potts, but only a story frequently referred to, one version of which may be found in Potts's account. The plain fact is, of course, that so much of the play as can be traced to any recognizable source is not based upon Potts's narrative at all, but upon the depositions, etc., quoted by Crossley in his introduction. The characters of the play who were taken from real life are the witches Moll Spencer, Mawd (Hargrave), Meg or Peg (Johnson), Gill (Dickison), and the boy, evidently the young rascal Edmund Robinson, who caused all the trouble. The incidents borrowed are those of the boy and the greyhounds (II, iii, iv), the boy's ride through the air with Goody Dickison (II, iv), the milk pail which obeys Moll's summons⁴

¹ Crossley, *op. cit.*, sig. K.

² E.g., Reginald Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft*, Book III, chap. x.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

⁴ This incident does not appear in the depositions quoted by Crossley. Its origin may be found in the report of the examination of Mary Spence by Dr. Bridgman, as given in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Dom. Ser., 1634-35, June 15, 1634): "Cunliffe accused her [Mary Spence] to call a collock, or peal [pail], which came running to her of its own accord. . . . When she was a young girl and went to the well for water, she used to tumble or trundle the collock, or peal, down the hill, and she would run along after it to overtake it, and did overnaye it sometimes, and then might call it to come to her, but utterly denies that she could ever make it come to her by any witchcraft."

(II, vi), the witches' feast (IV, i), the boy's story of his fight with a devil (V, i), Peg's confession (V, v). In these incidents the authors, as has been noted by all critics, kept very close to the terms of the depositions.

There is, then, nothing in the source material which would suggest a date earlier than 1633. Fleay¹ brought forward as a bit of external evidence confirming the existence of an early play a reference in Field's *A Woman Is a Weathercock*, 1612, to Lawrence of Lancashire.² Now Lawrence, according to Fleay's own theory, is one of Brome's characters, appears only in those scenes of the play ascribed to Brome, and must therefore belong to the 1634 revision; how, then, can Field have been referring to a character who made his first entrance upon the stage twenty-two years after Field's play was written? As a matter of fact, the name seems to have been proverbially applied to a man of vigorous physique, "Lusty Lawrence" being the more common variant.³ It may be found in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Captain* (IV, iii):

Lusty Lawrence,
See what a gentlewoman you have saluted;

and its origin is thus explained by Dyce: "This expression occurs again in *Woman's Prize*, I, iii, and is found in other early dramas. It is explained by the following passage of a rare tract: 'This late *Lusty Lawrence*, that Lancashire Lad, who had 17 bastards in one year, if we believe his Ballad, &c.' *A Brown Dozen of Drunkards*, &c, 1648, sig. C."⁴ Thus the use of the name by Field in 1612, instead of glancing at an old play of Heywood's, looks the other way: to the probability that Brome chose the name of a rather well-known local hero in order to give more point to the vulgar situation of which Parnell complains so bitterly.

The play was entered in the Stationer's Register October 28, 1634, and was brought to its present form in the summer of that

¹ *Biog. Chron.*, I, 185.

² Hazlitt, *Dodsley*, XI, 85.

³ Cf. *L.L.W.*, p. 231, and Hazlitt, *English Proverbs*.

⁴ Dyce's Beaumont and Fletcher, III, 295. Besides being used in the four plays mentioned—*L.L.W.*, *A Woman Is a Weathercock*, *The Captain*, *Woman's Prize*—the expression occurs in the fifth satire of Marston's *Pygmalion and Satires* (Bullen's ed., III, 289), and Bullen in a footnote refers to a ballad on the subject; this ballad, according to Hazlitt (*op. cit.*), was licensed in 1594. I have run across the phrase in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, but am unable to supply the exact reference.

year. In the prologue there is a reference to the arrival for examination in London of the women charged with witchcraft:

The Project unto many here well knowne;
Those Witches the fat Taylor brought to Towne.

From the *Calendar of State Papers*¹ we learn that they were brought to town some time between June 15, when the Bishop of Chester sent on the results of his examination of Margaret Johnson, Mary Spencer, and Frances Dickonson, and June 29, when the Privy Council passed an order for midwives to "inspect and search the bodies of those women lately brought up by the Sheriff of Co. Lancaster" (the fat jailer); from the same order we learn that the women were lodged at the Ship Tavern in Greenwich. There are two or three pieces of corroborative internal evidence. Fleay noted the allusion to Prynne's punishment. Whetstone says to Bantam, "if thou, Bantam, dost not heare of this with both thine eares, if thou hast them still, and not lost them by scribbling. . . ."² Prynne was sentenced on February 17, 1634, to lose his ears and be pilloried, and the sentence was carried into effect on May 7 and 10.

There are two references to a recent issue of farthing coins, which apparently was making some stir in London: "no longer agoe than last holiday evening he gam'd away eight double ring'd tokens on a rubbers at bowles" (I, ii);³ "from the last Farthings with the double rings, to the late Coy'ned peeces which they say are all counterfeit" (II, iv).⁴ Legal farthings of copper were first coined in 1613, and the lead farthing tokens up to that time issued by merchants and tradesmen were declared illegal. The authorities had great difficulty in getting the new coins into circulation and protecting them from counterfeiting. We find frequent references to the matter in the state papers during the remainder of the reign of James and that of Charles I.⁵ Finally to defeat the counterfeitors a new coinage was issued.

In 1634, at a time when Lord Maltravers had a share in the patent, the patentees were allowed to decry all the old farthings, and a new farthing of

¹ Dom. Ser., 1634-35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 182.

³ *L.L.W.*, p. 198.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁵ Cf. Thomas Snelling, *A View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England*, 1766; R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 3d ed., 1840; H. Montagu, *The Copper, Tin and Bronze Coinage of England from Elizabeth to Victoria*, 2d ed., 1893.

better make was introduced, distinguishable by an inner beaded circle, the so-called double-rings.¹

So serious had the counterfeiting of the farthing tokens become, that the patentees were allowed to introduce a token slightly different in design. The general design continued in accordance with the terms of the original patent, but all the details were altered, and as a mark to distinguish the new issue, a second beaded circle was placed on the obverse and reverse, whence the farthings were known as "double rings."²

There is, finally, one other passage which seems to carry on its face evidence of having been written in the summer of 1634. This is in the speech of Generous in IV, ii, a scene surely from the hand of Heywood. Generous is speaking of his wife, whom he is beginning to suspect of some criminal practice, though the idea of witchcraft has not yet occurred to him.

The Gentile fashion sometimes we observe
To sunder beds; but most in these hot monthes
Iune, July, August. . . .

The specific mention of present time seems to me to possess some corroborative value; at any rate, I set it down for what it may be worth. To sum up, common-sense would point to a date of composition in July or August, while the excitement over the near presence of the supposed witches would be at its height, and all the time indications that we have are in agreement with that inference.

In proof of the revision theory Andrews in his article presents three pieces of internal evidence: "the obvious interpolation of an episode, and an omission of one or two incidents that we are led to expect, and a mention in two places of names of witches or spirits inconsistent with the names in the rest of the play."

The episode which Andrews considers to be interpolated is that of the boy and the greyhounds on pp. 196-97, 199-201. The boy comes upon a brace of greyhounds, which he takes to have strayed from their owner, to whom he decides to restore them in hope of reward. On the way the dogs start a hare, but refuse to give chase.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, 1906, First ser., III, 190.

² *Ibid.*, p. 200. Illustrations of the "double rings" are given in Plate I, Nos. 29, 30, 31, opp. p. 191. The royal proclamation, authorizing the new issue, was dated February 23, 1634 (Patent Rolls, 11 Chas. I, Part V, No. 30).

The boy, angered by their apparent laziness, beats them, whereupon one of the dogs turns into Goody Dickison and the other into a boy. Mrs. Dickison changes the second boy into a horse, catches the first boy up in her arms, and they ride off on the horse. Andrews asserts that this episode has no connection with any of the threads of interest. On the contrary, ample preparation has been made for it. In the first scene of Act II (pp. 187-89) the witches are gathered to discuss what new deviltry they will play in order to throw their neighbors into confusion. They refer to the hunting party that is in progress, and Meg proposes to change herself into a hare to lead the dogs astray, while Gill says:

I and my puckling will a brace
Of Greyhounds be, fit for the race;
And linger where we may be tane
Up for the course in the by-lane.

The boy's experience is the obvious sequel of these plans; the dogs are Gill and her Puckling, and the hare is Meg. The boy next appears at the witches' feast, IV, i (pp. 220-21), whither he has been carried by Gill, and whence he escapes, to appear again in the final scene to give his evidence against the witches. The episode then, far from being interpolated, has a very definite connection with what precedes and what follows, and its dramatic purpose is plain—to show the witches in action. The part played by the boy Edmund Robinson in the actual Lancashire delusion was well known in London, he had been brought up to London for examination, and to omit him from the play would have been well-nigh impossible.

Andrews' second point, the omission of one or two incidents which we might expect, has some basis. It is true that the connection between the mortgage transaction (p. 178) and the incident of the receipt (p. 210) is not clear, and the business of the mortgage is dropped rather unceremoniously after the last reference to it (p. 182). It is to be noted, however, that the mortgage affair has served its dramatic purpose of bringing Generous and Arthur together, and thus furnishing a bond of connection between the plots. The reason for Arthur's appeal to Generous is the refusal of Arthur's uncle Seely to assist him with a loan, and the refusal, in turn, is occasioned by the confusion wrought by the witches in the Seely household. Such a

knitting-together of plots is considerably closer than is the case in several others of Heywood's plays, e.g., *Woman Killed with Kindness* and *English Traveller*. Moreover, the granting of the loan has characterized Generous, and Robin's presentation of the receipt proves to Generous that Robin has actually been in London, as he alleges. The failure to connect the two incidents more clearly and to refer again to the mortgage does not necessarily point to revision. It should be remembered that the play was composed, probably in some haste, to take advantage of a passing excitement, and any failure on the part of the authors to bring to a logical conclusion all the minor interests of the play may be laid more readily to haste of composition than to a supposed revision. This is particularly true since we have to deal with Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome, both of whom were somewhat rough-and-ready workmen, not distinguished for the careful finish of their plays.¹

For the other so-called revision Andrews points to the abrupt ending of II, iv (p. 199), where a betting scene terminates "without the interference of witchcraft which we are led to expect." The scene ends with a reference to a hare which has just been started. At the opening of the next scene the boy enters with the greyhounds, crying, "A Hare, a Hare, halloe, halloe!" and beats the dogs for not giving chase, whereupon the dogs are transformed into Gill and a boy. This, surely, is a display of the expected witchcraft, although the hunters are not present to witness the transformation. The betting scene, however, like the mortgage episode, has served its dramatic purpose. The main interest of the scene is not in the betting, but in the foolish behavior of Whetstone, and when he makes his exit we are interested more in his threatened revenge for the baiting to which he has been subjected than in the comparative speed of the brown dog and the pied. The failure to provide a logical termination for the betting episode may again, I think, be laid to hasty composition, especially since the following scene does provide a display of witchcraft which accounts for the hare mentioned at the end of scene iv.

¹ Ward holds haste of composition responsible to some degree for the bad structure of the play: "The process of composition was evidently too hurried to allow of more being attempted than a succession of scenes half realistic, half grotesque, etc." (*Engl. Dram. Lit.*, II, 578).

Andrews' third evidence of revision is the one suggested by Fleay, that in two instances there seems to be a confusion in the naming of the witches. Thus, at the end of Act IV, Mrs. Generous, calling a convocation of witches at the mill, says:

Call *Meg*, and *Doll*, *Tib*, *Nab*, and *Jug*,
Let none appeare without her *Pug*,

while Moll, Nab, Jug, and Peg are named in V, ii (p. 244). There is a tendency toward looseness in the names of the witches, anyway; thus Mrs. Johnson is called Meg or Peg indiscriminately (cf. p. 189, and V, v, where she is called Peg throughout). In IV, v, Mrs. Generous says: "Summon the Sisterhood together"; that is, she is giving directions for a general convocation. May not the sisterhood have comprised more than the four who are brought upon the stage, as it did in real life? Fleay thinks that before alteration V, ii, must have been Doll, Nab, Jug, and Tib. Why must we discard Moll and Peg, whom we know, because we have Nab and Jug whom we do not know? Fleay and Andrews want the names to be perfectly consistent; I think that they are loosely and carelessly used, and that the inconsistency is evidence only of haste of composition.

Having thus accounted for the evidence presented in behalf of the revision theory, let us consider the respective shares of Heywood and Brome. Andrews argues against collaboration in revision (and hence, inferentially, in actual composition) because "Heywood was writing for the Queen's Company in 1633 and the *Lancashire Witches* was brought out by the King's Men, the company for which Brome was writing in 1633 and 1634." Supposing for the moment that Heywood was writing for the Queen's Men at the time *The Late Lancashire Witches* was produced—has it been proved that a playwright in the employ of one company never did any work for another company? In fact, Andrews refutes his own argument when he states that Brome was connected in 1634 with both the King's Men and the Red Bull Company, and that while he was under contract to the King's Revels Company at Salisbury Court he had written a play or two for the Cockpit.¹ Such general argument, however, is in this case not necessary to meet Andrews' objection. *The Late Lancashire Witches* was written in 1634, not in 1633, and Fleay on the basis of our play

¹ *Richard Brome*, p. 14.

infers that at some time between the date of *Love's Mistress*, produced at court by the Queen's Men in 1633 and *The Late Lancashire Witches* Heywood transferred his services to the King's Men. Andrews cites the 1634 title-page of *Maidenhead Well Lost*, date of composition being probably 1633, but what would he say of the 1636 title-page of *Challenge for Beauty*, a play performed in 1635 by the King's Men, which, therefore, supports Fleay's theory?

Andrews accepts Fleay's assignment of the main plot—the Generous story—to Heywood. The first of his reasons, that the story is based upon the 1612 trial, is untenable. The second, that the general handling of the story, particularly in the treatment of the erring wife by her husband, is in Heywood's manner, is sufficient. The hunting scenes, also, may be compared with the first scene of *Woman Killed with Kindness*.

The attribution to Brome of the Seely story Andrews rejects because he can find no good reason for the assignment. Yet Andrews, when he accepts the Generous story as Heywood's because of its likeness to the Frankford story of *Woman Killed with Kindness*, has used precisely the kind of reasoning that Fleay did when he gave the Seely story to Brome because of its general resemblance to the inverted situation in *Antipodes*. Why the distinction?

That part of the story of the Seely household which concerns the servants Lawrence and Parnell is given by Andrews to Heywood because, as he says, "it is so involved with all the different interests that I have mentioned that I cannot see any possibility of a separate authorship for it." Truly, the best reason for assigning the Lawrence-Parnell story to the same hand that wrote the Seely story is that the former is an integral and essential part of the latter. But the hand is Brome's, not Heywood's. The mere fact that certain characters of the main plot, Heywood's, e.g., Bantam, Shakstone, Whetstone, are present at the Parnell-Lawrence wedding is very slender evidence upon which to assign the wedding scenes to Heywood. The union of the two plots through Moll Spencer, who gives Lawrence a bewitched cod-piece point while she is carrying on an intrigue with Robin, is not so ingeniously close that it must point to a single authorship for both plots; it is just the sort of connection that might readily be arranged by two collaborators. The argument

that Lawrence belongs to Heywood because of an allusion in Field's play of 1612 has already been disposed of. Finally Andrews refuses to accept Fleay's attribution of the Lawrence-Parnell scenes to Brome on the basis of the dialect, which Fleay compared with that in Brome's *Northern Lass*. Andrews asserts that the dialect of *The Late Lancashire Witches* differs from that of *Northern Lass*, and points out that Heywood also used a northern dialect in *Edward IV*, without, however, clinching his point by proving that the dialect usages of *The Late Lancashire Witches* and *Edward IV* are identical. To base any argument on dialect forms and spellings that have been subjected to the tender mercies of printers of playbook quartos seems a rather risky business. But since Andrews has introduced argument of this sort I have acted upon the suggestion made by him in a note, and have made comparison of the words listed by Eckhardt in his *Die Dialekt- und Ausländertypen des älteren Englischen Dramas*¹ with the following results:

Forms ² found in all three plays— <i>E.IV</i> , <i>L.L.W.</i> , <i>N.L.</i>	4
" " " <i>E.IV</i> and <i>L.L.W.</i> , not in <i>N.L.</i>	6
" " " <i>E.IV</i> and <i>N.L.</i> , not in <i>L.L.W.</i>	6
" " " <i>L.L.W.</i> and <i>N.L.</i> , not in <i>E.IV</i>	18

Now such a table proves nothing, beyond the fact that both Heywood and Brome were acquainted with north country dialects and used them freely on occasion, but if any inference were to be drawn as to authorship it looks as though Andrews' remark that "Fleay's argument is useless" were something of a boomerang.³ As positive evidence of Brome's authorship of the Lawrence-Parnell scenes it may be noted that Parnell's "Whaw, whaw, whaw, whaw!" (p. 186) is also used by Randal in *A Jovial Crew*,⁴ and that the inelegant expression "piss and paddle in't" (p. 185) is found in the same play.⁵

Andrews would restrict Brome's part in the play to those scenes which are based directly on the depositions in the 1633 trial, some

¹ Bang, *Materialien*, XXVII, 81-83, 86-91.

² I have confined this list to words actually used in more than one of the three plays, including variant spellings such as *deft*, *deft* = pretty, *sic*, *sick*, *sike* = such.

³ Cf. also Andrews' comment on Brome's use of dialect in *N.L.* and elsewhere: "The *Lancashire Witches* [contains] considerable fairly accurate Lancashire" (*Richard Brome*, p. 66, note). This certainly seems to imply that Brome wrote the scenes in which the Lancashire dialect is employed.

⁴ Brome, *Works*, III, 439.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 374.

"nine pages in all, out of a play of eighty-nine."¹ Most of this material Fleay assigns to Heywood. It seems to me impossible to ascribe the witch scenes to either author with any degree of confidence. But for the broad general division of the play into main plot and subplot, the first to Heywood, the second to Brome, I should agree with Fleay, dissenting from Fleay's opinion that the main plot shows "accommodation" by Brome. In short, I regard the play as a straight piece of collaboration by the two men, done in the summer of 1634.²

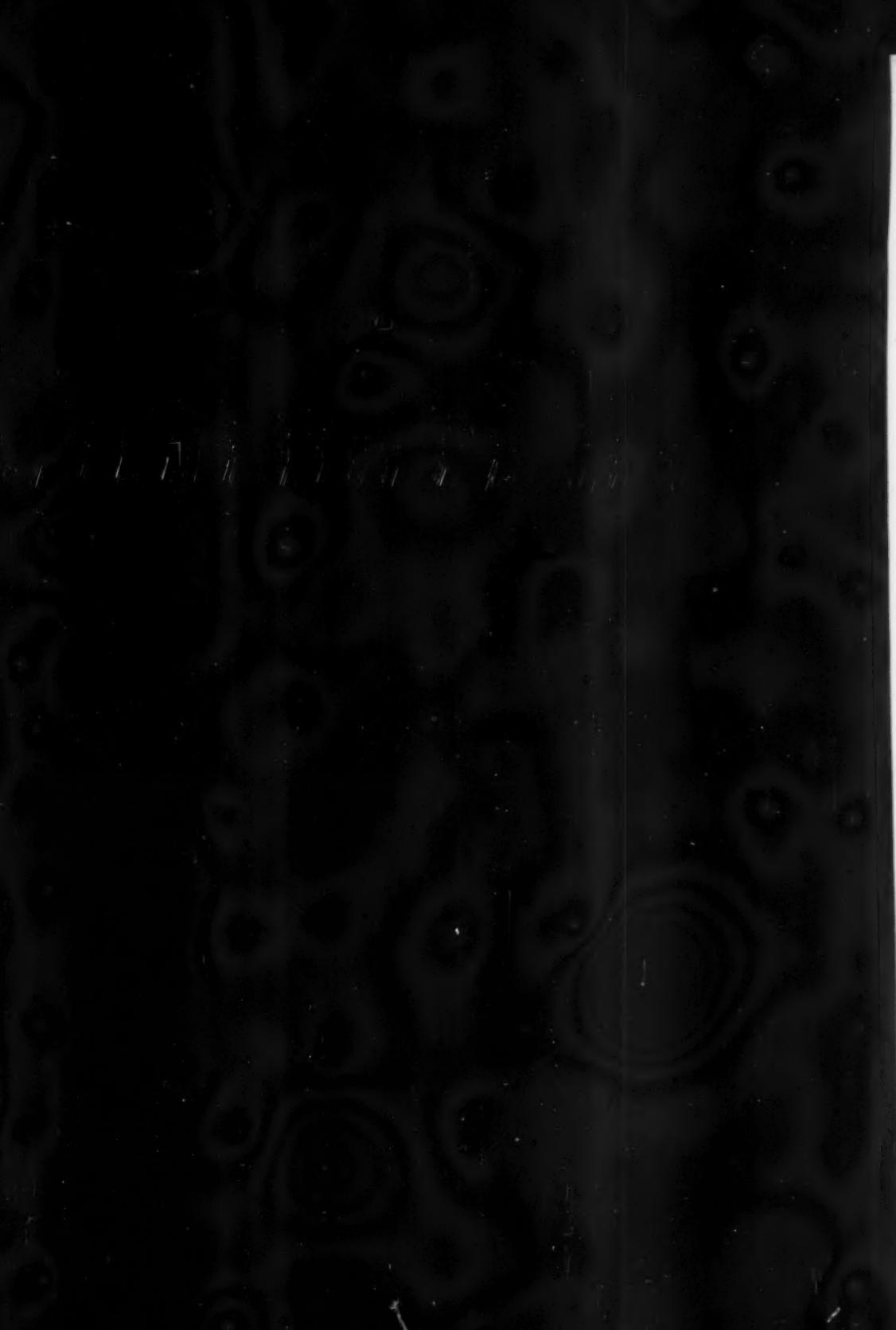
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¹ From this list are omitted two episodes that should be in it: Moll's calling of the pail (p. 202), and Peg's confession (pp. 258-59).

² As an example of Fleay's curious processes of reasoning it may be worth while to place side by side three of his statements regarding date and authorship. (1) "Heywood's part is founded on *The Witches of Lancashire* by T. Potts, 1613." (2) "The story of Mrs. Generous . . . is Heywood's, but considerably accommodated by Brome." I.e., the story of Mrs. Generous is the part founded on Potts. If so, it must have been written early and formed part of the early play. (3) "The turning Robin into a horse (and therefore the Mrs. Generous story) dates 1634." The parenthesis is Fleay's. How may this be reconciled with the previous statements? According to Fleay, moreover, Brome's part, consisting of the Seely story, must have been written to take the place of some other scenes in Heywood's early play, and dates, of course, 1634. This leaves only the witch scenes for the early play. But the witches are all 1633 people, and their deeds are based on the 1633 depositions. By the application of Fleay's own reasoning all of the early play disappears, and we have an altogether new one.

Since completing this article I have discovered that the views expressed in it are in agreement with those of Professor Ph. Aronstein of Berlin, in his article entitled "Thomas Heywood," in *Anglia*, June, 1913.



ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE INTERLUDES ATTRIBUTED TO JOHN HEYWOOD

The interludes which bear the name of John Heywood are interesting beyond any other group of the sixteenth century for their age, for their merit, but particularly for the great diversity of matter and treatment they show. The plays which will be discussed in this paper are *Love, Weather, Pardoner and Friar*, *The Four PP*, and *John the Husband, Tyb the Wife, and Sir John the Priest*, leaving out of consideration *Wit and Witless*, which is too undramatic to be of service. The reader of these plays will retain a vivid impression of the diversity I refer to, will have censured *Love* and *Weather* as dull and undramatic dialogues in the manner of the *débat*, and approved the other three as popular farces of uncommon freshness and vigor. This difference is the more striking because we are not accustomed to look for "styles," "periods," and "influences" in the rude work of the early sixteenth-century playwrights, but rather expect to find the product of each man marked by a definite and limited sameness.

It would be extraordinary if these differences should have passed unnoticed, as in fact they have not. It was even to be expected that eventually someone would challenge Heywood's right to certain of the plays. And this, too, has been done, in no uncertain terms, by Professor C. W. Wallace, who denies that Heywood wrote, or even could have written, the three popular plays of *The Pardoner*, *The Four PP*, and *John the Husband*.¹ His opinion is less significant as a piece of argument (for it is built upon the slimmest of evidence) than as an indication of justifiable skepticism. The question he raises has never been squarely faced, and it is worth while: Did John Heywood write both sets of interludes which are ascribed to him, and which are apparently so different in conception and handling?

The case against Heywood depends on two sources of evidence: the texts of the plays themselves² and the conditions under which they

¹ *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912), pp. 50 ff.

² All references to the texts of the plays in this article relate to the *Tudor Facsimile Texts*, ed. John S. Farmer.

were printed. For the sake of disposing of the smaller matter first, let us review now these questions of bibliography. Three of the five interludes were printed with Heywood's name on the title-page—*The Play of the Wether* and *A Play of loue*, both published by William Rastell in 1533, and *The Four PP*, published without date (but conjecturally in 1545)¹ by William Middleton. The other two were printed by William Rastell in 1533, without the author's name. These omissions, according to Professor Wallace, ought to be very significant; it is inconceivable, in his opinion, that the Rastells, relatives of Heywood, should print in 1533 two of his interludes with his name and two more without.

The argument is not strong. We may indeed wonder that the Rastells should have done as they did, but there is nothing incredible in it. We might even be satisfied merely with laying the blame upon the vagaries of sixteenth-century publishers, but there is a better reason observable from the texts themselves. The two plays which bear Heywood's name have title-pages and lists of characters; the two without have no title-pages, only head titles. Hence we are given a simple and reasonable explanation of why certain of Heywood's plays appeared without his name: in the form in which they were printed there was no room for it. To explain, of course, is not necessarily to prove; yet the burden of proof rests on the skeptics, who in this case have only raised a reasonable doubt. If other good arguments are established, then the bibliographical evidence lends helpful corroboration; but if, as I hope to prove, all other evidence against Heywood is weak, then nothing can be proved from the absence of a name or title-page.

The fact that one of the doubtful plays (*The Four PP*) was published with Heywood's name on the title-page is a serious stumbling-block to the skeptics, both because it is a piece of direct evidence against them, and because if that play is admitted into the Heywood canon there is then no reason why the others should be omitted. This dilemma has been solved by Mr. Wallace in somewhat too hasty a fashion: the piece was "attributed to Heywood by his publisher Middleton . . . and by everyone since." But we cannot dismiss evidence so summarily; and despite the known laxity of early

¹ Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, 1899, p. 244.

printers, we must accept the names they place on title-pages until strong evidence arises to the contrary. Since we cannot discredit Middleton in this instance, we must believe him, and thus admit a strong link between the two groups of plays we have to consider.

But the case against Heywood does not rest simply on bibliographical evidence, and we have yet to consider a problem of far greater importance—the singular difference between the *débat* plays and the popular farces. It will be well to bear in mind that to Mr. Wallace and such others as object to crediting Heywood with the popular plays, the Heywood canon resolves itself into the allegorical *Spider and the Fly*, the dialogue of *Wit and Witless*, the proverbs, and the plays of *Love and Weather*—all works of a definite cast. The argument against Heywood has been conveniently expressed by Mr. Wallace: “These three plays [*The Four PP*, *The Pardoner*, *John the Husband*] differ in dramatic conception, in characterization, and in acquaintance with men and events from the unquestioned literary product of . . . John Heywood. And unlike his, they have no didactic purpose.”¹

This is a very autocratic dictum, and one which, as I hope to prove, is based upon generalizations that will not hold. An obvious objection can be made at once: that the critic does not allow for the effect of influences or even for the natural development of the dramatist's genius. According to the reasoning he tacitly avows, we should reject the theory that Shakespeare wrote both *Love's Labor's Lost* and *Twelfth Night* because they are so different in “dramatic conception and in characterization.” And yet as much time may have elapsed between the writing of *The Play of Love* and *The Four PP* as between Shakespeare's plays. But let us leave these minor aspects for the time and devote ourselves to what is really the main problem—whether Heywood could have written all the plays attributed to him. We shall find, I think, that he could and did, with the possible exception of *John the Husband*.

The constant mistake has been to overemphasize the differences between the two groups of plays—the dulness of the one and the liveliness of the other. This has been the tendency even of men who have not had a case to prove. As a matter of fact the difference is by no means so great as it has been made out.

¹ *Evolution*, p. 52.

In the lowest order of the five plays, as regards dramatic interest, is the *Play of Love*; it is the closest to the old *débat* form. It is wearisome in its perpetual coil over nothing, its hairsplitting and strife between contrasted pairs of men; yet it has passages which would not shame the writer of *The Four PP*. The entrance of *No Lover nor Loved* with the burning squibs and the resulting trick played on *Lover Loved* make good, lively drama, which is no whit below the level of rough humor shown in *The Four PP* and *John the Husband*. Then the long monologue of *No Lover nor Loved* is quite as good in its coarse humor and lively satire as the narratives of the Pardoner and the Palmer in *The Four PP*. In these two respects the *Play of Love* belies its reputation for dulness and gives us a glimpse of powers that might easily become capable of producing *John the Husband*.

The Play of Wether is a distinct advance in dramatic interest. It may even be called more dramatic than any except *John the Husband*. In *The Four PP* there are only four characters, who do nothing but sit and talk; in *The Pardoner and the Friar*, until the very end, there are but two contrasted figures who backbite and preach tediously; *The Play of Love* is out of the question. But in *Weather* there are ten characters, who are constantly entering and going off, so that there is more actual motion on the stage than in all the other three plays put together. Furthermore, both the author's dramatic sense and his feeling for character are displayed in the choice of applicants to Jupiter for weather, particularly in bringing in at the end the boy, "the least that can playe" (who must have made a great hit, as he would even now), and in the skill with which the various types are sketched in and opposed to one another. The general course of the play is heightened by the quarreling of the two Millers—tedious now, but not then—and of the Lady and the Laundress, amusing enough still. The humor and truth to nature of these speeches are capital,¹ and the part of Little Dick is masterly; it is the boy to the life, set

¹ The entering speeches of the characters are particularly good, both because they come so patly in the dialogue, and because they are so well in character. For example, the Ranger enters:

Ranger.	God be here, now Cryst kepe thy company
Mery report.	In fyath ye be welcome euin very skantely.
Ranger.	Syr for your comyng what is the mater.
	I wolde fayne speke with the god Iupyter.

forth with an economy of deft touches that would please the most rigid of classicists. Altogether, "in dramatic conception, in characterization, and in acquaintance with men and events," *Weather* is a play of marked craftsmanship and is not for a moment to be compared in these respects with *Love*.

Just as I have shown that these two plays, and particularly one of them, are by no means the dull dialogues¹ they have been called, so it is possible to show that two of the other three plays are not quite so much farther advanced in dramatic art as critics have usually said. *The Pardoner*, as I have noted, is for the most part a mixture of harangues and recriminations on the part of a Pardoner and a Friar, who are delivering their sermons in the same church and to the same congregation. It is dull reading—duller probably to the general taste than any save *Love*—although it is easy to see that much fun could be got out of the parts by good low comedians. A fine bit of farce comes in at the very end, when the Curate and Constable Pratt try to eject the obstreperous pair. *The Four PP* is long drawn out, although the character delineation is excellent and the satire keen. And there is not the least bit of action. *John the Husband* is easily the most dramatic of the five, the play in which

Merry report. That wyll not be but ye may do thy
Ranger. Tell me your mynde I am an officer of hys.
 Be ye so, mary I cry you marcy
 You maysterrishipp may say I am homely
 But syns your mynde is to haue reportyd
 The cause wherefore I am now resortyd
 Pleasyth it your maysterrishypp, etc.

Or the Water Miller:

What y^e deuyll shold skyl though all y^e world were dum
 Syns in all our spekyng we never be hard, etc.

And the Wind Miller (I have introduced punctuation here):
 How! is all the wether gone or I come?
 For the passyon of god help me to some!

Thus the Gentlewoman:

Now good god what a foly is this
 What sholde I do where so mych people is
 I know not how to passe in to god now.

And best of all the boy, who perceives Merry Report first:
 This same is euen he by allyclyhod
 Syr I pray you be not you master god.

¹ If we are only to allow that Heywood wrote such debatæ as *Love*, *Wit and Folly*, and even *Weather*, how are we to understand Heywood's own epigram on himself? "Art thou Heywood with the mad merry wit?" he asks, and "Art thou Heywood that hath made many mad plaiis?" As fond as our Tudor forefathers were of *débatæ*, their ideas of humor were not so far different from ours that they would call *Love* or even *Weather* a "mad pliale," or describe its wit as mad and merry. Such epithets are exactly appropriate to the realistic interludes of *The Pardoner*, *The Four PP*, and *John the Husband*.

there is most going on and which comes nearest to real farce in our sense of the word. But the man who could have written *The Four PP* could also have written *John the Husband*; that Mr. Wallace himself maintains. And the same skill in character and situation which shows in *The Four PP* is evident to the most casual reader in many parts of *Weather*, and even in two places in *Love*. There is in reality nothing whatever against the theory of single authorship of these plays, from the point of view of "dramatic conception, characterization, and acquaintance with men and events," if we allow, as we logically must, for the natural processes of development. If we place *Love* as the earliest play and *John the Husband* as the latest, there is observable a development away from plays on words and finicky arguments toward real comic incident which is similar to Lyly's progress from *Campaspe* to *Mother Bomby*, and to Shakespeare's from *Love's Labor's Lost* to *Twelfth Night*. And the periods limited by the plays cited were about equal—i.e., ten years.

It may be objected that dividing the interludes into earlier and later "periods," while it may explain many differences, will not solve the problem of subject-matter, of why one group is concerned with disputes upon abstractions and the other with picturing the life of the times. As a matter of fact, a thoroughly plausible explanation of the phenomenon has been adduced.¹ *Weather* and *Love* are didactic, after the manner of the mediaeval *débats*; they are not concerned with religious satire or contemporary life. The other three, while possibly didactic and argumentative in parts, are much more satirical of church abuses after the manner of contemporary French farce, and are little comedies of realism. Analogues, if not sources, for *John the Husband* and *The Pardoner*² have actually been found. The sharp difference in the matter of the interludes may thus be explained by the appearance of a new and powerful influence. There were plenty

¹ Cf. K. Young, "Influences of the French Farce on the Plays of John Heywood," *Mod. Philol.*, June, 1904.

² For *The Pardoner*, the farce *d'un pardoneur, d'un triacleur, et d'une taverne*; for *John the Husband*, the farce of *Pernel qui va au vin*. The resemblances between the French and the English are too pronounced to permit doubt of interrelation. I cannot accept Mr. Wallace's suggestion (*Evolution*, p. 51) that the French may "equally well, even more probably, have borrowed" from England. When we find two nations developing the same kind of literature, we may feel sure that the lending, if any existed, was done by the nation which possessed the literature first. France had had the farce since the time of *Maitre Patelin*.

of opportunities, in the hobnobblings of England and France during the second and third decades of the century, for the English to see French farces. It is worth noting that the Field of the Cloth of Gold took place in 1520, close to the time when the interludes are supposed to have been written.

We may safely conclude, then, that there is nothing in the natures of the plays themselves which invalidates the theory that one man wrote them; a conclusion which is strengthened by the fact that one of the doubtful plays is ascribed to Heywood by authority which we have no right to dispute. Yet while, on the strength of that authority, and on general questions of style, we must admit *The Four PP* to the Heywood canon, the problem of the other two plays is not so easily settled. To prove that there is no reason why they *may not* have been written by Heywood is not to prove that they *were*. Yet by a more careful examination of the two questionable plays, we can, I think, establish for one of them a greater likelihood of Heywood's authorship than of any other man's, and thus corroborate by one-half accepted tradition.

It will be well to glance briefly over the steps by which this tradition has attained growth—and a very hollow tradition it is. Bale,¹ our first and greatest authority, and Pits,² who follows Bale closely, give as Heywood's dramatic writings only *The Four PP*, *Love*, and *Weather*. To Anthony à Wood, in *Athenae Oxonienses*, seems to be due the honor of adding to the list *The Pardoner* and *John the Husband*, but where his authority came from I cannot discover.

¹ In his *Scriptorum Illustrium Majoris Brytannie . . . Catalogus . . . Basillae* (1557). This is the second, revised edition of his work, and hence is more authoritative than the earlier. This is what Bale says of Heywood (*Posterior Pars*, p. 110): "Ioannes Heyuode, cuius Londiniensis, musices ac rhythmicæ artis in sua lingua studiosus, & sine doctrina ingeniosus, pro choreis post comedationes & epulas hilariter ducendis, spectaculis, ludis, aut personatis ludicris exhibendis, allisque unitatibus fouendis, multum laborabat, ediditque

<i>De aura comoediam</i>	Lib. 1.
<i>De amore tragœdiam [sic]</i>	Lib. 1.
<i>De quadruplici P.</i>	Lib. 1.
<i>Centum epigrammata</i>	Lib. 1.
<i>Ducenta alia epigrammata</i>	Lib. 1.
<i>Epigrammata proverbialia</i>	Lib. 1.

Sed in promouenda veritate nihil egit, ueritatis fastiditor. Vixit ille anno Domini 1556."

² *Ioannis Pitsei . . . Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Tomus Primus . . . Parisis . . . M.D.C.XIX.* Pits adds to the bibliographical note *De aranea & musca versus Anglicos, Librum unum*, and *Rithmos alias Anglicos, Librum unum*.

Everyone since his day appears to have accepted his word without question. It is "generally accepted."

With this verdict as regards one of the plays I have no inclination to quarrel. I believe *The Pardoner and the Friar* offers strong internal evidence that it is by the same hand which wrote *The Four PP.* The point has frequently been urged before. Not only are the Pardoners in the two interludes strikingly similar, in their knavish parade of insincere piety and in their display of fraudulent relics, but the relics themselves are in two cases the same, the likeness extending even to the texts themselves.

The Pardoner (Sig. A 2 verso):

And another holy ralyke here may ye see
 The great too of the holy tryntyte.
 And who so euer ones dothe it in his mouthe take
 He shall neuer be dysseasyd with the tothe ake, etc.

The Four PP (Sig. C 1 verso):

Nay syrs beholde here may ye se
 The great toe of the trinite
 Who to this toe any money voweth
 And ones may role it in his moueth
 All his Lyfe after I vndertake
 He shall be ryd of the toth ake.

The Pardoner (same page):

Here is another relyke eke a precyous one
 Of all Hallows the blesyed Jaw bone.

The Four PP (Sig. C 1):

Frendes here shall ye see eyn anone
 Of all Hallows the blesyed iaw bone
 Kys it hardly with god deuocion.

It is easy to see why these two relics should turn up in both places. They are the most grotesque and striking of the whole scandalous list in *The Pardoner*, and when the author was tempted to repeat the success of this burlesque in another interlude, he took over bodily the two choicest bits. It may be objected that someone else may have pillaged Heywood, or vice versa; but I believe that we must be careful how we make charges of plagiarism in a period when the dramatic writing of this class was confined to a limited circle at court,

in which each man knew his own and his fellow's work too well. Furthermore, we do not find one dramatist pillaging another as a practice; they went to the classics or to French farce when they lacked inspiration. The parallelisms in *The Four PP* and *The Pardoner* are much more likely to show Heywood borrowing from Heywood than from anyone else. A direct chain of evidence, then, connects *The Pardoner* with the didactic plays of *Love* and *Weather*: printer's authority binds *The Four PP* to them, and verbal similarities bind *The Pardoner* and *The Four PP*.

There remains, then, only *John the Husband* unaccounted for, and I confess that I cannot definitely associate it with Heywood. It may well be his—but may it not as well be another's? Until we know something more of the authors of *Tom Tiler* and *Thersites*, until we find undoubted specimens of the work of Cornish, Crane, and even the youthful Sir Thomas More, we cannot with much show of evidence say that the style is Heywood's. The fact of its publication in 1533 by William Rastell lends a faint support to Heywood's claim. Mr. Wallace has put in a strong plea for William Cornish, the master of the Chapel Royal, as the author of the three questioned plays, on the simple basis of Cornish's great activity in preparing the revels at court in the first fourteen years of Henry VIII. But Cornish was not the only man writing interludes before 1533, nor have we any evidence that his work was more like these interludes than the early plays of Heywood himself. Our entire information as to what Cornish was capable of writing, aside from songs and pageants, consists in the knowledge that in 1515 he produced a dramatic arrangement of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida* and shortly after an interlude in which the actors took the parts of Sun, Moon, Wind, Rain, and other natural phenomena. Surely there is nothing here which suggests either the substance or the manner of *The Four PP*. Nor was Heywood the "dramatic successor" of Cornish, as Mr. Wallace has called him.¹ Cornish died in 1523, and his successor in office and as director of the Chapel children when they played at court was William Crane. When the payee for plays by the Chapel is named, it is always he, never Heywood. So until we know more of Crane, we must be careful of what we say about the relations of Cornish and Heywood.

¹ *Evolution*, p. 53.

Various attempts have been made to deduce the chronology of the plays, without much success, because there is so little to get hold of. Swoboda started it in his dissertation on "John Heywood als Dramatiker,"¹ in which he placed *The Pardoner* first because of the reference in it to Leo X, who died in 1521,² and because of the general youthfulness of it; and *The Four PP* last, because it was printed last and seemed older. Brandl³ planned his chronology according to the religious satire in the plays; he too put *The Pardoner* early and *The Four PP* later. With this relationship I am in agreement, for it seems clear from all indications that *The Four PP* is younger than *The Pardoner*. It is more varied in character, not so bound to the device of antiphonal dialogue, fuller of matter, more carefully written. And the treatment of the repeated bogus relics in *The Four PP* is precisely what one would expect in a later writing; not that the list is longer, as Swoboda observes, which really proves nothing (as Pollard⁴ remarks), but that the treatment is more dramatic, more elaborated for the fun to be derived. In *The Pardoner* the relics are recited in a monologue; in *The Four PP* the recital of the Pardoner is broken in upon by the comments of his listeners, so as to bring out the full richness of humor of these brilliant absurdities. In *The Pardoner* there is plain statement in soliloquy; in *The Four PP* there are character reaction and interplay, excellently worked out. The first is the original, the second the developed form. It could not be otherwise.

While I agree with Swoboda in the relative position of the two plays, I cannot believe that they were so far apart as he would place them. The reference to Leo X may mean that *The Pardoner* was written before his death, but not necessarily. At any rate, it could be dated as late as 1521, which must bring it after the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Swoboda limits the date of *The Four PP* to 1535 at the latest, on the dubious assumption that the passage in *Thersites* (produced in 1537 and possibly in 1536) in which Thersites

¹ In *Wiener Beiträge*, III, 1888.

² Sig. A 3:

Worshypfull maysters, ye shall vnderstand
That pope Leo the .x. hath graunted with his hand
And by his bulles, confyrmed vnder sede
To all maner people, bothe quycke and dede etc.

³ "Quellen des weltlichen Dramas," *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXXX.

⁴ In Gåyley, *Representative Eng. Comedies*.

boasts of going down to harrow hell, goes back to the Pardoners' tale of the rescue of Margery Coorson. The parallelism is too slight to build on; and I cannot believe that two plays which are so closely bound together by the characters of the Pardoners and so clearly, in those characters, actuated by the same inspiration should be composed so far apart. It is a question of psychological probability, based upon plain common-sense, to which purely theoretic arguments must yield.

For this reason I would place *The Four PP* after *The Pardoner*, but nearer it—say 1524–27. *The Play of Love* has every evidence of being the earliest of them all. It is the kind of thing a very young man would do; it is nearly always the young men who write the hairsplitting *débats* on love and find delight in playing with words. Lyly's *Euphues* came at the outset of his career; Ford published his idealistic dissertations on love and honor in his youth. *Love's Labor's Lost* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* came before *Twelfth Night* and *As You Like It*, and *Venus and Adonis* before the *Sonnets*. *Weather* seems to me to be connected with *Love* by certain tricks of style—by plays on words, by extensive use of alliteration, by passages composed of lists of nouns, sometimes in burlesque alliteration¹—and by the didactic feeling which relates them both to the

¹ Some examples of such word play are the following:
Weather, Sig. A (4) (Rastell edition):

For all weathers I am so indifferent
Sonne lyght, mony light, ster light, twy light, torch light,
Cold, hete, moyst dry halle raine frost snow lightning thunder
Cloudy, misty, wyndy, fayre, fowle aboue head or vnder
Temperate or dis temperate what euer it be. . . .

Cf. also the alliterative list of towns on Sig. A 4, *verse*:

At Louin, at London, and at Lumbardy,
At Baldcocke, at Barifold, and at Barbury,
At Canterbury, at Couentry, and at Colchester
At Wanswortho, at Welbecke, and at Westchester, etc.

Such compilations as these, and especially the second set, recall at once similar lists in *Love*, as for example the following (Sig. B 2):

The smothest the smyrkest the smalles
The trowest, the trynest, the tallest,
The wysest, the wyleyst, the wyldest,
The meryest, the manerlyest, the mydest, etc.

More in the nature of plays on words are these lines, *Weather*, Sig. A 3:

Jupiter. Why, what arte thou that approchyst so ny?
Mery report. Forsothe and please your lordshyppe it is I.
Jupiter. All that we knowe very well, but what is I?
Mery report. What I? some say I am I perse I
But what maner I so euer be I
I assure your good lорshypp I am I.

And this (Sig. D 2):

The more ye byb the more ye babyll
The more ye babyll the more ye fabyll
The more ye Fabyll the more vnstabyll
The more vnstabyll the more vnabyll, etc.

(Continued on p. 102)

débats. That it is the younger is proved by the advance in dramatic skill which has already been pointed out.

As to the place of *John the Husband* I am in doubt. From the point of view of variety of incident it would seem to come as a culmination in growth, but I am not sure that we can rely on that argument. While there is more incident than in *The Four PP*, there is no whit better characterization, and growth in characterization is more significant than any fluctuation in amount of incident; for the latter may follow a fashion, while the former comes from the dramatist himself, grows with him, and is dependent on no influences but the dramatist's own development.¹ It is probable, moreover, that the two plays which show French influence most—*The Pardoner* and *John the Husband*—would not stand far apart. But after all, did Heywood write *John the Husband*?

My conclusion as to the order of the plays is this: *Love*, ca. 1518, when Heywood was near twenty; *Weather*; *The Pardoner*, ca. 1521; *The Four PP*, ca. 1525 or even earlier; and *John the Husband*, later or earlier according to the prejudice of the reader. This arrangement is in the greatest degree provisional and uncertain, although I regard it as satisfactory enough in our present state of ignorance; there are, for instance, complicating circumstances which are too vague to argue upon, yet too likely to leave out of consideration. In the first place, it is not reasonable to assume that after the entry of the French influence Heywood never returned in his plays to his earlier didactic manner, either from choice or to please someone, like the Princess Mary, to whom the satirical pieces might not be agreeable; hence there may be excuse for dating *Weather* later than I have. In the second place, *The Pardoner*, which seems a less skilful piece of drama than *The Four PP* or *John the Husband*, may owe its defects, not to

Compare these with the following representative extracts from *Love* (Sig. B (3) verso):

Anone there was I loue you and I loue you
 Louely we louers loue each other
 I loue you and I for loue loue you
 My louely louyng loued brother
 Loue me, loue the, loue we, loue he, loue she,
 Depper loue apparent in no twayne can be, etc.

There is much more of this primitive euphemism in *Love* than in *Weather*, as might be expected from its earlier composition and the nature of the subject.

¹ It is worth adding that *The Four PP* was much more popular and lasted longer on the common stage than did the other interludes. In the play of *Sir Thomas More*, written in Elizabeth's reign, the troupe which is going to present a play before the banquet offers for consideration a number of pieces, among which is *The Four PP*.

extreme youth, but to the author's attempting for the first time a new kind of drama. Finally, whatever the precise dates of the plays, which I regard as of slight account, I would put them all before the Protestant Reformation; for I cannot conceive a devout Catholic, such as Heywood proved himself to be, who might satirize the abuses in his church when it was strong and well, carrying on the satire so blithely and with so much unforced enjoyment while it was in bitter need. Perhaps the appearance of so many of Heywood's plays in 1533 meant that the Reformation had, temporarily at least, put an end to his writing.

While we are occupied with Heywood, it may be worth while to consider one more point, which likewise has never received adequate attention: how and by whom his plays were presented. It has been generally reported that they were written for the children of the Chapel Royal, but this is by no means certain. The assumption arose, so far as I can discover, from the facts that Heywood on one occasion (in 1538) played before the Princess Mary with a company of children,¹ and that in one of his plays a child is called for. But we must bear in mind, first, that the company directed by him in 1538 is not said in the record of payment to be the Chapel boys; and secondly, that in only one of the five plays is a child obviously demanded, and then it is only one boy. Little Dick in *Weather* is described as a boy "the least that can playe," but there is no evidence that the other characters were children, and Merry Report, at least, was an adult, as is shown by his attitude of teasing encouragement to Dick. It is usually said that the plays were written for children; yet except for this one character I have failed to find in any part of them evidence supporting such an assumption.

Of course the possibility still remains that they were given in part or in whole by children; yet the meager array of evidence we have hardly justifies that conclusion. We fall upon greater difficulties if we suppose that the Chapel boys were the actors. We are at once puzzled to account for the circumstance of their being directed by a man who was in no way connected with the Chapel. True, Heywood may have been a boy there at one time, but during the

¹ The occasion is frequently referred to in histories of the stage. See, for instance, Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 84.

period in which the plays were written he was official player of the virginals and was enrolled among the musicians. All this time, moreover, the Chapel boys were playing under their regular masters, Cornish and Crane.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems impossible to assign Heywood's plays definitely to the Chapel Royal. There were other means of presenting them: perhaps by the regular troupe of interlude players (John English and his three companions), perhaps by the gentlemen of the Chapel, who were accustomed frequently to play in the court. We may wonder who were the boys with whom Heywood entertained the princess in 1538, and for lack of better knowledge suppose that they were of the Chapel Royal. But there was another body of children at court with whom Heywood must have come into closer contact—they were the six singing boys who formed part of the minstrels, and whose existence has heretofore been overlooked.¹ Since Heywood was himself one of the minstrels, or musicians, his relations to these lads must have been closer than to the Chapel. To be sure, it is not known that they ever acted; yet they were ready at hand, and may very possibly have been drilled for the stage by Heywood. I submit the hypothesis for what it is worth.

The investigator who is trying to establish the Heywood canon and who has gathered together the known facts which will help him is astonished to find how blank is our ignorance in many directions and how much unsubstantiated theorizing has passed current for fact. Yet there is enough reliable evidence to vindicate the traditional canon in regard to all but one of the plays. There is nothing to prove that *John the Husband* is by Heywood; but there is nothing to prove that it is not. It is perfectly possible that the man who wrote *The Four PP* and *The Pardoner* could have written this play; and I for one shall be glad to go on calling it Heywood's until some really worthy claimant appears.

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¹ These singing boys, called Children of the Privy Chamber and put in the charge of one of the luters, are met with in the court accounts of Mary and Elizabeth, and are known to have existed as early as 1465. In that year certain men were directed to gather by impression "quosdam Pueros, Membris Naturalibus Elegantes, in Arte Ministratissimis Instructos" wherever they could be found. See Rymer's *Poedera*, XI, 375.

THE POLITICAL SATIRE OF THE NON-JUROR

The extraordinary vogue of Cibber's *The Non-Juror* may be explained in part by the excellence of the original, *le Tartuffe*, from which it was indirectly adapted. That excellence accounts for its long stage history: not only was it frequently revived,¹ but in the slightly altered form of *The Hypocrite* it continued before the public from 1768² to 1823,³ and when cut down to a three-act comedy was still on the boards in 1889.⁴ But its unprecedented original run must be explained on somewhat different grounds—by its political satire.

Cibber's own account of the inception of the play is characteristically indefinite. He says:

About this Time *Jacobitism* had lately exerted itself by the most unprovoked Rebellion that our Histories have handed down to us since the *Norman Conquest*: I therefore thought that to set the Authors and Principles of that desperate Folly in a fair Light, by allowing the mistaken Consciences of some their best Excuse, and by making the artful Pretenders to Conscience as ridiculous as they were ungratefully wicked, was a Subject fit for the honest Satire of Comedy, and what might, if it succeeded, do Honour to the Stage by shewing the valuable Use of it. And considering what Numbers at that time might come to it as prejudic'd Spectators, it may be allow'd that the Undertaking was not less hazardous than laudable.⁵

The rebellion to which Cibber with such loyal indignation refers is the short-lived and half-hearted rising in favor of the Old Pretender in 1715. Scarcely a month elapsed after the Earl of Mar unfurled the Pretender's flag at Braemar on September 6 before the cause collapsed irretrievably; on November 13 seven peers and 1,489 men were captured at Preston by the royal troops and at once scattered about the kingdom in jails. To be sure, the Pretender

¹ October 18, 1745, at Covent Garden for eight nights (*Genest, Some Account*, IV, 183); October 22, 1745, at Drury Lane for thirteen nights (*ibid.*, IV, 173); January 4, 1750, at Covent Garden (*ibid.*, IV, 304); February 6, 1753, immensely successful revival at Drury Lane (*ibid.*, IV, 359); October 22, 1754, very successful revival at Covent Garden (*ibid.*, IV, 414).

² *Ibid.*, V, 218.

³ *Ibid.*, IX, 188.

⁴ Cibber, *Apology*, ed. Lowe, 1889, II, 288.

⁵ Cibber, *op. cit.*, II, 185 f.

himself landed in Scotland on January 2 of 1716, but he found conditions so unpromising that on February 4 he embarked for France. By April not only were the Highlands of Scotland tranquil, but the Pretender was forced to leave French soil for the territory of the Pope at Avignon.

This bare recital of events raises a question: Why did Cibber bring out his play on December 6, 1717, instead of during the spring or at least the fall of the preceding year? The rising was crushed by April, 1716. By the historian of a later date the danger is seen to have been over about six months earlier. Why the delay? To answer we shall have to discover how the matter seemed to the public for whom the play was written. We shall have to see how popular opinion concerning the rebellion was reflected in the newspapers of the time.

The examination shows that politics in those days was a turbulent game. Popular tumults were frequent whenever any anniversary gave occasion for crowds to gather. On the anniversary of the Restoration in 1716 mobs "wearing in their Hats, Oak Branches for Badges of Sedition and Rebellion in a riotous and tumultuous Manner, went about Town to insult all his Majesty's loyal Subjects," annoying them among other ways by breaking their windows.¹ On August 6 "Two Soldiers [were] whipped almost to Death in *Hyde-Park*, and turned out of the Service, for wearing Oak-Boughs in their Hats the 29th of *May*."² Similar riots occurred on June 10, the birthday of the Pretender.

The next year the demonstrations were, if possible, even more brutal, or the newspapers more outspoken in their reporting.

Wednesday [May 29] being the Anniversary of the Restoration of King Charles the Second, the same Spirit of Faction seem'd to incite some of the High-Church Mob to wear Oak-Leaves, and the other Distinctions of Rebellion, for which some of 'em were sent to several Prisons, and some bound over, whilst others were severely treated by the loyal Party wherever they met them.³

Last Monday being suppos'd to be the Birth-Day of the Sovereign of the White-Rose a sort of shabby-genteel Gentlewoman (we suppose

¹ Read's *Weekly Journal*, June 2, 1716.

² Salmon's *Chronological Historian*, 1747.

³ Read's *Weekly Journal*, June 1, 1717.

her to be some Manteau-maker, or worse) walking along Cheapside, with a rebellious Badge of White-Roses in her Bosom, a Gentleman stepping out of his Coach, corrected her Impudence by soundly flauging her, and then sticking the Pretender's white Badge in her blind Cheeks, she was most strangely teaz'd and insulted by all loyal People till she got home. The same Day two Scotch Soldiers near Rothehith were assaulted by a parcel of Fellows, who presum'd to thrust their White-Roses into their Faces, which were soon died in Blood, by one of the Soldiers cutting almost off one of the Jacks Hands, which made the rest run away for Fear of worse Punishment. The same Day one Mollut a Soldier in the second Regiment of Foot Guards, walking in Tuttle Fields with his Wife was assaulted by 6 Villains, who spoke disrespectfully of the King, and said, That King James (meaning the Pretender) was the rightful King. Hereupon the Soldier engag'd them, and only by the Assistance of 2 other Persons took 2 of the Gang who are now in the Hold, which made the other Cowards of the White-Rose Society run away.¹

Now Cibber was no fool. He did not let slip such opportunities as these disturbances furnished for a Whig attack on the enemies of the government. But he did use anything but a subtle method of introducing the allusions. He merely gathered them together in the account of expenses which Sir John conveniently drops for his son to pick up and read to the audiences:

Laid out at several times for the Secret Service of His M—

	l.	s.	d.
May the 28th, For six Baskets of Rue and Time,	00	18	00
The 29th, <i>ditto</i> , Two Cart-Loads of Oaken-Boughs,	02	00	00
June the 10th, For ten Bushels of White Roses,	01	10	00
Ditto,—Given to the Bell-ringers of several Parishes,	10	15	00
Ditto,—To <i>Simon Chaunter</i> , Parish-Clerk, for his Selecting proper Staves adapted to the Day,	05	07	06
Ditto,—For Lemons and Arrack sent into <i>Newgate</i> ,	09	05	00
. . . . Allow'd to <i>Patrick Mac-Rogue</i> , of the Foot-Guards, for prevailing with his Comrade to desert,	04	06	06
Given as Smart-Money to <i>Humphrey Stanch</i> , Cobler, lately whipt for speaking his Mind of the Government,	03	04	06 ²

It needs little imagination to hear the applause that greeted the successive items in the bill.

¹ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1717.

² *The Non-Juror*, 1753, pp. 33 f.

To return to the newspapers. These disturbances alarmed not alone the people. That the government considered its position insecure is clear from the prosecutions in which it engaged. There was great dissatisfaction at the acquittal of one Townley, the evidence against whom was in fact very damaging. Not only did Read's *Journal*, the Whig organ, give a particular account of the pleadings,¹ but the *Flying Post* printed the following letter:

I know it has been given out very Industriously, that the Evidence against Mr. Townley of Townley, and Mr. Tildlesly of the Lodge, who were try'd on Tuesday last [May 15] at the Marshalsea for High-Treason was not full, and upon that Account the Jury acquitted them, but I can assure you on the contrary, that the Evidence against them was very strong and particular, and so Satisfactory to the Judges, and by them so faithfully and well Summ'd up, that it was a very great Surprize to every one present, that those Gentlemen shou'd be acquitted. And the Judges were so dissatisfy'd with those Two Verdicts, and with some others given by that Jury, that on Thursday last the said Jury was discharg'd, and the Sheriff order'd to impanel a new one, to Try the rest of the Prisoners in the Marshalsea.²

Indeed, the event left so deep an impression on the public mind that Cibber's reference eighteen months later to the trial of a Sir Harry Foxhound³ was at once identified by two pamphleteers who retailed the gossip of the coffee-houses as a hit at Townley.⁴

¹ *Op. cit.*, May 19, 1716.

² *The Flying-Post: or, The Post-Master*, May 19, 1716.

³ *The Non-Juror*, p. 39. Dr. Wolf directs his servant: "O! and—here step yourself this Afternoon to Mr. Defeazance of Gray's-Inn, and give him this Thirty Pound Bill from Sir Harry Foxhound, beg him to sit up Night and Day till the Writings are finish'd: For his Trial certainly comes on this Week, he knows we can't always be sure of a Jury, and a Moment's delay may make the Commissioners lay hold of his Estate." In Dr. Wolf's list of expenses (*The Non-Juror*, p. 34) appears a similar reference: "Paid to Henry Conscience, Juryman, for his extraordinary Trouble in acquitting Sir Preston Rebel of his Indictment, 53*l.* 15*s.* 00*d.*"

⁴ In *The Comedy call'd the Non-Juror. Shewing the particular Scenes wherein that Hypocrite is concern'd. With Remarks, and a Key, Explaining The Characters of that Excellent Play*, p. 24, we read: "Henry Conscience. The honest Foreman of the Jury, who gave in the Verdict upon Townley, when try'd at the Marshalsea, Not Guilty. Mr. Defeazance. Mr. Hornsby, a Gentleman of Grays-Inn, committed some time since to Newgate, for irregular Practices acted against the Government."

"Sir Harry Foxhound. Is one Townly of Townly in Lancashire, who with others meeting 'Squire Foster in Northumberland, under the Pretence of hunting the Fox, they there rose in Rebellion, but the Rebels being routed at Preston, the abovesaid Townly was brought up to the Marshalsea Prison in Southwark; but upon his Tryal there, had the too good Luck to be acquitted."

In Joseph Gay's [i.e., John Durant Brevall] *A Compleat Key to the Non-Juror. Explaining The Characters in that Play, with Observations thereon*, 3d ed., p. 25, we read:

The eagerness of the Whigs to deal with all those implicated in the rebellion was shown in the baselessness of some of the prosecutions. Such were the indictments found against Sir William Windham and a Mr. Harvey of Combe on May 25, 1716.¹ Harvey had to be discharged on November 28, 1716,² and Sir William on February 12, 1717. According to a contemporary authority, Cibber made use of this popular interest in Mr. Harvey by depicting him as the gullible Orgon of his play,³ though the "Non-Juror" indignantly denied this identification.⁴ There can at any rate be little doubt that many in the audiences made that identification as one more point in the political satire of the play.

Equally famous was the trial of a French Jew, born at Bordeaux and never naturalized, whose cipher communications in a lawsuit got him into no end of trouble. He was arraigned at the Old Bailey for high treason on June 14, 1716. His acquittal on January 22, 1717, was a matter of great disappointment to the Whigs, a disappointment reflected in the following account:

On Tuesday last [January 22] came on the Tryal of Francia the Jew, which lasted from 10 in the Morning to 11 at Night, before the Lord Chief Baron Bury, Mr. Justice Tracy, and Mr. Justice Prat. . . . The Charge against him laid in the Indictment, was for compassing and imagining the

¹ "Mr. Deceazance of Grays-Inn, Mr. H—d . . . Sir Harry Foxhound—Mr. Townley. Henry Conscience—The Foreman of his Jury."

That these pamphlets summed up the gossip among the political factions may be inferred from their late appearance, January 6, 1718, when the *pièce à clef* had already been presented seventeen times. It is possible that Gay's identification of Sir Harry was taken from *The Comedy call'd*, as it first appeared in his third edition, issued some time after January 8, when, according to the advertisement in *The Daily Courant*, the second edition appeared. The popularity of these identifications, among the others that were probably made in the various cliques of that day, is attested by the repeated editions, and by the angry protest of the "Non-Juror's" *The Theatre-Royal Turn'd into a Mountebank's Stage. In Some Remarks upon Mr. Cibber's Quack-Dramatical Performance, called the Non-Juror*, on January 11.

² "Yesterday [May 25] the Grand Jury of Middlesex found Bills of Indictment against Sir Will. Windham and Mr. Harvey of Comb" (*Read's Weekly Journal*, May 26, 1716).

³ "Wednesday [November 28] being the last Day of the Term, Sir Will. Windham, and Mr. Harvey of Comb, appeared at the King's-Bench-Bar at Westminster, upon their Recognizances; the latter was discharge'd with his Bail, but the former was continued upon Recognizance, the Attorney-General declaring to the Court, That there appeared Matter of Misprision of Treason against him, and that he had receiv'd Orders to proceed against him on that Head" (*Read's Weekly Journal*, December 1, 1716).

⁴ Gay, p. 25: "Sir John Woodvil is generally attributed to Mr. H—y of C—be."

⁴ *Theatre-Royal Turn'd*, p. 33: "For what reason also he calls his *imaginary Key* a compleat one, might not be out of the Question, since Sir John Woodvil's Character, and Mr. H—y of C—b, are as different from each other as Light from Darkness."

Death of the King, and raising Rebellion and levying War against His Majesty, by writing Letters, and sending into France for Men, Money, and Arms, to aid the Pretender, and set him upon the Throne of these Realms. The Jury being call'd upon the Pannel, he challeng'd several peremptorily, and 12 being sworn and charg'd, the Court then proceeded to his Trial. . . . The Tryal being over, the Judges concur'd in their Opinion, that the Treason was fully and Plainly prov'd, but the Jury brought him in not guilty.¹

To this celebrated case Cibber was careful to introduce a transparent reference:

Doct. . . . So *Charles*, hast thou finish'd those Letters?

Charles. I have brought them, Sir.

Doct. 'Tis very well, let them be seal'd without a Direction, and give them to *Aaron Sham* the Jew, when he calls for them.²

This was easily identified by the pamphleteers,³ and as stoutly denied by the "Non-Juror."⁴

From these various identifications with some of the famous cases growing out of the Rising of 1715 it is clear that Cibber was directing part of the satire in his belated comedy at the Jacobite enemies of the Whig government, perturbation concerning whom was still felt in the first months of 1717. The return of quiet was further delayed by a new panic that stirred the nation in the same winter. To go back to beginnings, it should be remembered that some two months before his accession to the throne of England George, as Elector of Hanover, had acquired from Denmark the captured Swedish duchies of Bremen and Verden. On October 15, 1715, Charles XII of Sweden declared war on Hanover, but he did little for many months. On January 29, 1717, however, Count Gyllenborg, an adviser of Charles who had been sent as Swedish envoy to the Court of Saint James,

¹ Read's *Weekly Journal*, January 26, 1717.

² *The Non-Juror*, pp. 38 f.

³ "Aaron Sham. Is Francia the Jew, try'd after a long Confinement in Newgate, at Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily, for holding a secret Correspondence, by Letters, with his Majesty's Enemies at home and abroad and his since withdrawn himself to France" (Comedy call'd, p. 24). "Aaron-Sham the Jew, Mr. Francia, try'd for High-Treason, and acquitted" (Gay, p. 25).

⁴ ". . . there are no . . . Grounds to imagine, that because the Doctor bids his Servant deliver such and such Letters to *Aoran Sham* the Jew, he must thereby mean Mr. *Francia*" (*Theatre-Royal Turn'd*, pp. 33 f.).

was arrested and his papers seized because he was thought to be carrying on treasonable designs against the government. At the same time Baron Görz, the Swedish minister in Holland, was arrested on his way to London. It was discovered that these two, with Sparre, the representative at Paris, were concerting with the Jacobites for a fresh insurrection to be supported by twelve thousand Swedish troops.¹

When these matters were made public in March, the Whig organ devoted five folio columns to the account, filling two additional columns with the action of Parliament.² As news in general was given in short paragraphs, we can understand the extraordinary excitement of these events. The fear of coalition made the Whigs more active than ever. Thanks to the Septennial Act of May 7, 1716, the prestige of the government abroad had risen to the point where it could enforce its wishes. On February 6, 1717, the Regent of France accordingly found it advisable to redeem a promise of the preceding summer by compelling the Pretender to leave Avignon, whereupon that prince removed beyond the Alps.

In the summer another trouble of long standing was settled. By the Treaty of Utrecht the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be razed and the harbor filled up. But in September, 1714, England learned that a fresh harbor was being made at Mardyck, connected by canal with the town of Dunkirk and capable of sheltering ships in greater number and of larger tonnage than the harbor of Dunkirk itself. Early in 1715 Louis XIV gave a voluntary pledge not to make any work of fortification on the new canal. On August 10, 1717, it was reported that "Letters from Mardyke say, that they Continue to work diligently on Demolishing the Works there."³ The same month Count Gyllenborg was sent home, the troops reduced, and a treaty of accommodation with Sweden was arranged.

¹ Cibber has a reference to this design: "*Doct. No matter, let them [the French] go—we have made a good Exchange, our New Ally is yet better, as he is less suspected*" (*The Non-Juror*, p. 37).

² "A full Discovery of the Design of raising a Rebellion in his Majesty's Dominions, to be supported by a Force from Sweden; as carried on by Count Gyllenborg the Swedish Ambassador here, Baron Gortz the Swedish Ambassador in Holland, and Baron Sparre, the Swedish Ambassador in France" (seven columns in Read's *Weekly Journal*, March 2, 1717).

³ Read's *Weekly Journal*, August 10, 1717.

To both of these reassuring events, the removal of the Pretender and the work of Mardyck, Cibber was careful to make reference,¹ but more essential to his plot was another act of the summer of 1717, the most direct evidence of the government's mastery of the situation and confidence in itself. The unimpeachably whiggish Read informed the public that—

Last Monday [July 15] his Majesty went about 6 a Clock in the Evening to the Parliament House, where being seated in his Royal Robes on the Throne, he was pleased to give the Royal Assent to . . . the King's most gracious and free Pardon, . . . after which his Majesty made the following most gracious Speech. . . . *My Lords and Gentlemen*, It is with great Pleasure that I see the Tranquillity of the Nation so well Establish'd as to admit of an Act of Grace, which I have long desired a fit Opportunity to Grant.²

On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday the prisoners in messenger's hands, also those in Newgate and Marshalsea, were discharged on "pleading his Majesty's most gracious Pardon."³ On August 10 the public learned that "All the State Prisoners, who were brought hither in the late Rebellion, from Liverpool, Chester, and Preston, were discharged last Week."⁴ This confidence and tranquillity was not unaccompanied by loyal gloating over the new-found freedom from alarm. A contemporary account runs:

Upon the passing the Act of Grace, the Remainder of the *Preston* Prisoners were discharged, and particularly 200 from the Castle of *Chester*; but they had undergone such Hardships in Prison, that many of them reaped little Benefit by it, being so disabled, that they could not stand when they were dismissed to their respective Homes, where they had Leisure to lament the rash Undertaking; And, no doubt, their Sufferings will deter others from disturbing the Government for the future.⁵

The most conspicuous instance of the royal clemency was a son of that Duke of Atholl whose adherence to the crown had meant so

¹ "Doct. . . . the Court's extremely throng'd—never was there such a concourse of Warlike Exiles: though they talk, this sharp Season, of removing farther into *Italy*, for the benefit of milder Air" (*The Non-Juror*, p. 35). "Sir John. 'Tis true, but still I am amaz'd, that *France* so totally should have left us—*Mardyke*, they say, will certainly be demolish'd" (*ibid.*, p. 37).

² Read's *Weekly Journal*, July 20, 1717.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, August 10, 1717.

⁵ Salmon, *Chronological Historian*, July 15, 1717.

much to the government in the early days of the rebellion. This young man,

Lord Charles Murray, fought at Preston, where he distinguished himself by his conspicuous courage, and after the surrender of that town on 14 November was made prisoner, and on 28 November 1715, with five other officers (four of whom were shot on 2 December) was tried as a deserter, he having been a cornet in the Fifth Dragoons. Lord Charles was sentenced to death, but pleading that he had placed his commission in the hands of a relative before joining the rebellion, and great efforts being made by his family, he was reprieved, and, in August 1717, set at liberty.¹

Popular interest in the affair is shown by the frequent notice taken of it in the papers. On August 24, for instance, the public learned that—

The Lord Charles Murry, youngest Son to the Duke of Athol, who was sentence'd by a Court-Martial at Preston, and on Account of the Interest of his Noble Family, respited from Execution, but excepted by the Act of Grace, is to be sent to the Isle of Wight, to remain a Prisoner there during the King's Pleasure.²

On September 14 it was noted that—

A Pardon hath pass'd the Seals for the Lord Charles Murray, Youngest Son to the Duke of Athol, who was Sentenced to be Shot to Death at Preston, for Deserting His Majesty's Service, and joyning the Rebels.³

The act of grace was indispensable to Cibber's plot. In the play he foils the schemes of the villain, Dr. Wolf, by the devotion of Charles to Maria and the rest of Sir John Woodvil's family. To be able to foil the villain, Charles had to be made a former pupil of Dr. Wolf and a Preston rebel, in order that he might be familiar with the hypocrite's part in the rebellion. After these signal services, the audience of course would demand that he be saved, yet this could be accomplished only by an act of royal clemency. Furthermore, Charles had to serve as Dr. Wolf's servant in Sir John's family, and consequently had to be made to escape detection at Preston and in that way keep out of prison. This circumstance, however, evidently did not keep the public from recognizing him as Lord Charles

¹ Sir Robert Douglas, *The Scots Peerage*, 1904.

² Read's *Weekly Journal*, August 24, 1717.

³ *Ibid.*, September 14, 1717.

Murray.¹ Considering the conspicuousness of the latter's pardon and the importance of Charles's pardon in the play, the identification was rather obvious. It is just possible that the lengthy description of the reconciliation between father and son in Act IV² was taken by many as a transcript of the actual reconciliation of the preceding September.

It will thus be seen that the successive agitations in the state—the riotous celebrations of anniversaries, the numerous trials of alleged traitors, the fresh panic of the Swedish coalition, the unsatisfactory relations with France concerning the Pretender and the harbor at Mardyck—that these perturbations would have deterred any manager, no matter how venturesome, from presenting on the stage before the fall of 1717 an attack on the Jacobites. There was too much uncertainty concerning Jacobite machinations, there was too little confidence in the impregnable position of the Whig government, to warrant such a bold satire of its enemies. It will be equally clear that from August on, such a satire not only would be possible but would be likely to meet with unbounded applause from the intrenched supporters of the government. Moreover, we have seen that the inception of Cibber's plot must be dated from the late summer or the fall of 1717.

But the satire of *The Non-juror* was ostensibly directed against the sect that gave the play its name. A consideration of this feature of the plot will make still clearer why the play was not written till the late summer or the fall of 1717.

The Nonjurors had of course long been obnoxious to the Whig element in England. That was inevitable from the circumstances of their origin. It will be recalled that on the accession of William and Mary an oath of allegiance was required of all the clergy of the Church of England. Four hundred of the number, among them the archbishop of Canterbury and several bishops, refused to take it because they regarded their oath to James II as still binding. From this refusal they were known as Nonjurors. They were in a few months deprived of their livings and sees, and the sees were filled by an act of Parliament. On the death of James in 1701 an act of

¹ "Charles is suppos'd to be a young Nobleman, Son to the Duke of A--l" (Gay p. 25).

² *The Non-Juror*, pp. 71 f.

Parliament (1702) required every beneficed clergyman to abjure the pretended Prince of Wales as lawful heir to the throne and to acknowledge William III and each of his successors according to the Act of Settlement as rightful and lawful king. In 1714 Parliament passed a law requiring everyone holding an office worth more than five pounds a year to swear that George I was rightful and lawful king, and that the person pretending to be the Prince of Wales had not any right or title whatsoever. The last two oaths probably brought few additions to the sect, but may have kept some of the original seceders out of the Established Church.

The tenets of the Nonjurors in particular aroused the wrath of the Whigs. One of their strongest beliefs was that, in its purely spiritual functions, the church was independent of the state. They could not regard the ejection of the nonjuring bishops by an act of Parliament as lawful in any sense. The body held that the ejected bishops, not the new ones put into their sees by civil power, were the true officers of the Church of England. In order that this true church might continue (for they were of opinion that there would be no church were there no officers to represent it), they decided in 1693 to consecrate new bishops to take the place of the nonjuring ones when the latter died. What seemed to them at the time the only practicable way of accomplishing this was to ordain suffragan bishops according to a statute of Henry VIII. George Hicks was accordingly dispatched to the Pretender at St. Germain to secure the necessary *congé d'élire*. When the bishops were chosen, the two who were consecrated as suffragans under Henry's act were given the sees of Thetford and Ipswich, because both were in the diocese of Norwich, over which Lloyd, one of the original Nonjurors, claimed jurisdiction. George Hicks, who was made incumbent of Thetford, died in 1715. Some of his papers were later made public, so that the whole affair, as we shall see, was once more the subject of discussion.

The cup of bitterness for the Nonjurors was filled by the Rising of 1715. Their very natural participation in that ill-starred undertaking raised them to a bad eminence from which it was impossible to descend. So conspicuous was the conduct of even the inconspicuous members that it was long remembered. Rev. William Newton, writing in 1730, declared:

The Controversy of the new Schism made a much greater Noise upon the late Tumults and Rebellion than it had ever done since the Filling of the depriv'd Sees by K. *William*; and the *Jacobeite* Conventicles were more frequented in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; and Priests of that Way were sent down to gather the like Congregations in Country Towns: And many of the *high* Folk, especially the *Women*, seem'd to come to the parochial Churches in and about *London*, for the Sake of their *Pews*, and their *Cloaths*, rather than for Conformity to the *publick Worship*. For they wou'd not join in any Part of the Prayers for King *George*, and his Royal Family, but at the Mention of those Names, they wou'd rise up, or sit down, or, at least, express their Dissent in some visible Manner.¹

On July 13, 1716, two of the Nonjurors out of two dozen Jacobites that had been sentenced suffered the penalty for their mistaken loyalty. The contemporary account by the curious but even-tempered Calamy notes: "Parson Paul and Justice Hall were executed at Tyburn, and left most impudent papers behind them, which were published. . . .² The two speeches . . . revived a debate that had lain for some time asleep in the Church of England."³

Fuel was added to the rekindled blaze by Lawrence Howell, who brought more conspicuously before the public the peculiar tenets of the sect. The first announcement of his writings consisted merely of this sentence: "On Wednesday last [September 5, 1716] Mr. Howel, a Non-juring Clergy-man, was committed to Newgate, for

¹ William Newton, *Life of the Right Reverend Dr. White Kennett*, p. 161.

² The nature of these execrated beliefs is plainly set forth in these two excerpts: "You see, my Countrymen, by my Habit, that I die a Son, tho a very unworthy one, of the Church of England: but I would not have you think that I am a Member of the Schismatical Church, whose Bishops set themselves up in opposition to those Orthodox Fathers, who were unlawfully and invalidly depriv'd by the Prince of Orange. I declare that I renounce that Communion, and that I die a Dutiful and Faithful Member of the Nonjuring Church; which has kept it self free from Rebellion and Schism, and has preserv'd and maintain'd true Orthodox Principles, both as to Church and State. And I desire the Clergy, and all Members of the Revolution-Church, to consider what Bottom they stand upon, when their Succession is grounded upon an Unlawful and Invalid Deprivation of Catholick Bishops; the only Foundation of which Deprivation, is a pretended Act of Parliament" (*Remarks on the Speeches of William Paul Clerk, and John Hall of Otterburn, Esq., Executed at Tyburn for Rebellion, the 13th of July, 1716*, p. 8).

"I declare that I die a true and sincere Member of the Church of England; but not of the Revolution Schismatical Church, whose Bishops have so rebelliously abandon'd the King, and so shamefully given up the Rights of the Church, by submitting to the Unlawful, Invalid, Lay-Deprivations of the Prince of Orange. The Communion I die in is that of the True Catholick Nonjuring Church of England; and I pray God to prosper and increase it, and to grant, if it be his good pleasure, that it may rise again and flourish" (*ibid.*, p. 31).

³ Edmund Calamy, *An Historical Account of my Own Life*, II, 357 f.

being concerned in a treasonable Pamphlet, entitled, *The present State of Schism in the Church of England consider'd.*¹ The following Monday, September 10, *The Daily Courant*, totally contrary to its policy, gave the following domestic news:

Upon Information that a Treasonable Pamphlet newly printed was lodged in the House of Mr. Lawrence Howell, a Nonjuror, in Bull-head-Court in Jervin-Street, Search was made, and a large Impression of the said Pamphlet, part of them Sticht, the rest in Sheets, was seized. His papers were also secured, and he himself taken into Custody: And after he had been Examined by a Committee of Lords of the Council at the Cockpit, he was last Week committed to Newgate. The said Pamphlet is Intituled, *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated.* It appears to have been intended to be dispersed or sold privately; those which were found sticht up, as well as the others, having no Title Page with the Name of any Author, Printer or Publisher.

Then followed over a column of quotations.

Among the said Mr. Howell's Papers were found, an Original Instrument, by which it appears that he was ordained and instituted into Priest's Orders in 1712 by the late Dr. Hickes: And also the Form of Absolution and Reception of Converts to Jacobitism. Both which Pieces are as follows.

They filled nearly two columns.²

On Friday the same paper opened with:

A Letter to the Writer of the Courant, Sept. 13. "The Whole of what I have seen of the Non-jurors late Writings, as it is manifestly in direct Opposition and Defiance to all Authority in this Nation, so 'tis very agreeable to the Principles and Doctrines, taught and published in the Two last Reigns by Dr. Hickes, Mr. Collier,"

and so on. Read's *Journal* the next day, September 15, filled three columns with the same matter, adding a final paragraph of coarse vituperation to show its more vehement Whig principles. On Monday, September 17, *The Daily Courant*, almost without fail a single sheet, printed on both sides, now used three sheets, making five pages. The reason for this expansion was thus given:

There being still such a Demand for the Courant of the 10th Instant, that 'tis necessary to reprint it; we shall at the same time subjoyn to it, a Letter inserted in the Courant of Sept. 14; and also some Quaerries never published before.

¹ Read's *Weekly Journal*, September 8, 1716.

² Cibber alluded to such manuals in the first words Dr. Wolf utters in the play: "Charles. Step up into my Study, and bring down half a Dozen more of those Manual Devotions that I compos'd for the Use of our Friends in Prison" (*The Non-Juror*, p. 21).

The addition was entitled, "Quaerries concerning the Schism charged by the Non-jurors upon the present Church of England," and filled two columns and a half. Read's *Journal* of the following Saturday, September 22, copied these queries, with some errors, and added this piece of news:

On Tuesday last [September 18], Mr. Wilcox, one of His Majesty's Messengers, seiz'd at the House of one Alexander a Sawyer in *Labor-in-vain-Alley* near Fish-street, a very large Impression of Mr. Howell's *New Ecclesiastical Farce*, call'd, *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated*; together with one Montgomery, a Non-juring Parson.

The popular excitement, tremendous as it was, was more than equalled by the theological ire. The very directness of Howell's statement of the Nonjurors' position¹ in his little pamphlet of thirty-six pages was a challenge to the upholders of the Establishment that at once drew replies in the public prints,² and more vehement attacks in a pamphlet warfare.³ Anger was extended to rage by an announce-

¹ "Intending Brevity in this Discourse, I shall say this in general, before I descend to particulars; That the odious Name of *Separatist* belongs to those, who departed from the Church's true Communion in the Year 1688, and since; and not to the *Chast Few*, who for the Preservation of a good Conscience quitted their then present Support, and Prospect of further Promotion. These are still as much Friends of the Church, and Enemies of Schism, as ever: But by the Church, they understand the *True Old Church of England*, with all her venerable Doctrines of Faith, Justice and moral Honesty, and all her strict Decrees against the *resisting, deposing, and forfeiting* Doctrines. . . . This pure Virgin-Church, which may be said once more to be driven into the Wilderness, and chiefly (O horrid!) by her unnatural Ranegado Sons, the Non-jurors say is the Church to which they adhere, and from which the Compliers have separated, by departing from her ancient Doctrine and Practice, notwithstanding they keep Possession of the loyal Churches, from which the Non-jurors were illegally ejected.

"This began a spiritual War, which on the Non-jurors side was purely Defensive; because they were driven from the Publick, and therefore were forc'd to set up separate Oratories or Chapels, in which they think and are satisfied, that the pure Church of *England*, with her pure Worship may be seen and heard like the Church at *Jerusalem*, in the first Persecution of Christianity in the *upper Rooms*. . . . The Authority of the Church of *England* and consequently the Church of *England* it self was with the depriv'd Bishopt & Clergy, and remains still with their Successors, who alone have immutably adher'd to her true Constitutions and Principles" (*The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated*, pp. 1 ff.).

² "From the Mountains of Wales, Sept. 26, 1716. The Heads of an expostulatory Letter to the Gentleman who lately made Remarks on Mr. Howell's treasonable and schismatical Pamphlet" (Read's *Weekly Journal*, October 6, 1716). "Having given you in our last the Substance of the Nonjurors Charge of Schism upon the Church of England; we have thought fit to insert in this an Answer thereto, written by an eminent Clergyman of the Church of England" (*ibid.*, October 27, 1716, four columns, signed "John Knox")."

³ Thomas Bennet. *The Nonjurors Separation from the Public Assemblys of the Church of England, Examin'd And prov'd to be Schismatical upon their own Principles* (from advertisements in *Daily Courant* we learn that the first edition appeared October 4, second

ment in *The Daily Courant* for October 15, to which four full pages and a half-column on the fifth page were devoted:

Last Week was seized by one of His Majesty's Messengers, at Mr. William Redmayne's Printing House in Jervin-Street, one Copy (the rest of the Impression having before been conveyed out of the House,) of a Book Intituled, *The Constitution of the Catholick Church, and the Nature and Consequences of Schism, set forth in a Collection of Papers, written by the late R. Reverend George Hickes, D.D.*

Bishop White Kennett led off with a refutation¹ so valuable that *The Daily Courant* gave four pages and a half-column of excerpts from it.² Other pamphlets followed,³ of which by far the most famous was

edition October 6, 1716; J. Pierce published two answers to it); Anonymous, *The Establish'd Church of England Vindicated From the Imputation of Schism; In a Serious Address to all the Members of Her Communion; In which is Shewn From the constant Doctrines and Principles which the Church has always Taught, that the Nonjurors Separation is really Schismatical* (appeared October 13, 1716). A. A. Sykes: *An Answer to the Nonjurors Charge of Schism upon the Church of England. Written by a Clergyman of the Church of England* (appeared October 20); Anonymous, *The Layman's Vindication of the Church of England, As well against Mr. Howell's Charge of Schism, As against Dr. Bennett's Pretended Answer to it* (appeared October 22); Anonymous, *A Dissuasive Against Joining with the Conventicles of Nonjurors; in A Serious and Earnest Address to the Subjects of Great Britain* (appeared October 25).

¹ *A Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Almoner to His Majesty, Upon the Subject of Bishop Merks; By Occasion of seizing some Libels, particularly A Collection of Papers Written by the Late R. Reverend George Hickes, D.D.* (first edition, October 30; second edition, November 6).

² "The Reverend Dr. Kennett, Dean of Peterborough, having in a Pamphlet intituled *A Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, &c.*, made very instructive Remarks on Dr. Hickes's Collection of Papers which have been lately printed and dispersed clandestinely for promoting the Jacobite Schism; 'tis thought proper to give the Publick the following Extract of such of those Remarks as may be of most general Use." Thus reads the introduction to the excerpts.

³ *A Vindication of the Realm, and Church of England, From the Charge of Perjury, Rebellion, and Schism, Unjustly laid upon them by the Non-Jurors: And the Rebellion and Schism shewn to lie at their own Doors* (appeared November 2, 1716); *A Letter to a Non-Juring Clergyman, Concerning the Schism Charged upon the Church of England* (appeared November 14); *A Preservative Against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors Both in Church and State. Or, An Appeal to the Consciences and Common sense of the Christian Laity. By the Right Reverend Father in God Benjamin, Lord Bishop of Bangor* (first appeared November 20, 1716; second edition, November 23); *The Sin of Schism Most unjustly and groundlessly charged by the Nonjurors Upon the present Establish'd Church of England, and the Charge made good against themselves. In a Letter to a Nonjuring Clergyman* (appeared November 26, 1716); *A Vindication of the Church of England, against the Nonjurors Charge of Schism; By T. [omas] Dawson, D.D. One of the Proctors in Convocation for the Diocese of Sarum, late fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge* (first appeared December 5, 1716); *The Layman's Letter to the Bishop of Bangor: or, An Examination of His Lordship's Preservative against the Nonjurors; Of the Vindication of the Realm and the Church of England; Of the Nonjurors Separation from Publick Assemblies, examin'd by Dr. Bennet; And of all other late Discourses, occasion'd by the Charge of Perjury, Rebellion and Schism, imputed to the Body of the People* (appeared December 22, 1716; it is one of eighteen replies listed in the British Museum); *A Third Letter to the*

Hoadley's *Preservative*. First published on November 20, it entered the second edition on November 23, and so long continued popular that a fifth edition was issued in 1719. Part of its longevity is to be attributed to the Bangorian controversy, which it helped to precipitate, but the agitation against the Nonjurors was the immediate cause of its sales.

What aroused this hysterical interest in religious views was of course their political bearing. That was illustrated on August 28, when was arrested William Redmayne, the printer in Jervin Street later implicated in issuing Dr. Hicks's papers. "On his Examination, the Oaths being tender'd him, he refus'd to take them. The three Persons who Bail'd him, after they had been acquainted that he was a Nonjuror, having likewise had the Oaths tender'd to them, refused to take them."¹ In fact, the theological tempest described above was the occasion for keener hostility to all Jacobites. On "Sunday Night [September 23] the Body of Tho. Bean, one of the five Persons Executed [Friday, September 21] for the Riot in Salisbury-Court, was buried at St. Brides Church with much Ceremony, follow'd by Mourners, and Men and Women, the latter drest in white Sarcenet Hoods, and the Men wearing white Favors; a numerous Crowd of Rabble gathered together on that Occasion."² A fortnight later it was reported that "Nathaniel Spinks, the Non-juring Clergyman, had about him, when taken, a great Number of Receipts for Money paid to several of the Jacobite Party."³ This precursor of Cibber's Dr. Wolf was held to be typical of the whole sect, hostility to whom became a criterion of loyalty. Read led the crusade,⁴ becoming

Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Almoner to His Majesty, Upon the Subject of Bishop Merke; Wherein The Nomination, Election, Investiture, and Deprivation of English Prelates, are shew'd to have been Originally constituted and govern'd by the Sovereign Power of Kings and their Parliaments: Against the Pretensions of our New Fanaticke, who have withdrawn themselves from the establish'd Church into a separate Communion, under the Name of some Deprived Bishops and their supposed Successors (preface dated "January 25, 1716-17").

¹ Read's *Weekly Journal*, September 1, 1716.

² *Ibid.*, September 29, 1716.

³ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1716.

⁴ "A Curate living not far from Shoreditch, having the Insolence to disturb the Peace of His Majesty's good Subjects, by keeping a Nonjuring Meeting-House in Spittle-Fields, 'tis hoped that all Persons loyally affected to King GEORGE, will timely suppress the Diabolical Society, as they have done the like seditious Assemblies of blind, deluded Fools, in the Savoy, Scroop's-Court in Holbourn, and in Aldersgate-Street" (*ibid.*, October 27, 1716).

jubilant¹ and abusive² until "On his Majesty's safe Arrival at St. James's Palace [on January 19, 1716, when] in all Parts of the Town there were Bonefires, Illuminations, and other publick Demonstrations of Joy,"³ he found occasion for printing:

The last Will and Testament of the late Earl of Mar, General Foster, and other Rebels and Emissaries of the Church of Rome, who were executed at Charing-Cross [in effigy, where a noble Bonefire was prepar'd] on Saturday the 19th of January, 1716. In the Name of the Church of Rome, alias High-Church, alias the Nonjuring-Church, or truly any Church, but the Church of England as by Law establish'd, . . . we think it as proper, . . . to bequeath to our Friends what Nature hath given us, in the following Manner. Imprimis, Our Heads, as being without Brains, we give to the insipid dull Asses the Non-juring Clergy, who would poyson the Mob with false Doctrine, with a design to bring in Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power.⁴

But there was no necessity for Whig efforts to keep the spirit of hostility alive. The trial of Howell on March 2, 1717, added a fresh explosion that reverberated far and wide. The following news account shows the party spirit at work:

Last Saturday Sentence was pronounced against the following Criminals at Justice-Hall in the Old Baily. Laur. Howell a Nonjuring Clergyman, for publishing a false, Scandalous and Seditious Libel, Entitled, *The Case of Schism of the Church of England truly stated*. It was prov'd that the Prisoner

¹ "Last Sunday a Jacobite Assembly was held at a House in Spittle-Yard, Spittle-Fields, said to be the Dwelling of Mr. Mynors, a Nonjuring Clergyman, and late Curate of Shoreditch, which occasion'd a great Tumult; but the Tide seems so far turn'd, that the Mob, contrary to their former Proceedings were for venting their Spleen against this Gentleman, and those deluded Wretches who compose his Congregation. The other Jacobite Assemblies in Town, appear quite dispirited, and out of Countenance" (*ibid.*, November 3, 1716).

² "PHILIP HURST, an Apprentice to a Book-binder in the City, and a CHURCH-WARDEN to one of the late Nonjuring Meetings, was sent to the Compter for defrauding his Master: He is a Son to the same Hurst of Oxford, so often mention'd in the fam'd Depositions of that University, to have had his Windows broke on his Royal Highness the Prince's Birth-Day. The Character of whose Son take as follows:

"*This Impudent, Audacious and Rebellious Assembly of Nonjurors, consisting of nothing but a Parcel of Rattle-brain'd Rakish young Fellows, Sharpers, Gamesters Highway-men, House-breakers, Thieves, Pick-Pockets, Broken Tradesmen, Butchers, Link-Boys, Fools, and Mad-men, Bawds, Whores, Shop-lifters, Drunkards, Scolds, Fish-women, Basket-women, Sinder-wenchies, and Fiery Cookmaids, have thought fit to Chuse Philip Hurst for their Church-warden; he being an Apprentice of about 20 Years of Age, and a Person very well Qualified for such an Office in their Church: He'll Drink, Swear, and Play at Cards on Sundays, but that's nothing but what they'll all do, like their Brethren in Iniquity the Papists . . .*" (with verse for nearly a column, *ibid.*, December 22, 1716).

³ *Op. cit.*, January 26, 1717.

⁴ *Ibid.*

was seiz'd in August last by 2 of His Majesty's Messengers, with about 1000 of the said Libels in his Custody, together with several Manuscripts, among which were the Prisoners Letters of Ordination by the late Dr. Hicks, which were mark'd by the Kings Messengers. One of Redmayne the Printers Servants prov'd, that the Prisoner us'd frequently to come to His Master's whilst the said Libel was in the Press, and saw, and corrected the Proofs, . . . He was Fin'd 500*l.* and 3 Years Imprisonment, and to remain in Custody while paid; to find four Securities of 500*l.* each, and himself bound in 1000*l.* for his good Behavior during Life, and to be twice Whipt. Upon which he ask'd if they would whip a Clergyman, and was answered by the Court, they paid no deference to his Cloth, because he was a Disgrace to it, and had no Right to wear it; and they did not look upon him as a clergyman, in that he had produc'd no Proof of his Ordination but from Dr. Hickes, under the Denomination of the Bishop of Thetford, which was Illegal and not according to the Constitution of this Kingdom, which knows no such Bishop. Whereupon he receiving his Sentence with an Air of Haughtiness, and behaving himself contemptuously to the Court, he was order'd to be Degraded, and stript of the Gown, he had no legal Right to wear, which was done in Court by the Executioner. But upon his humble Petition he has obtain'd a Remission of the whipping Part of this Sentence.¹

Even the Act of Grace in July did not allay the rancor against the Nonjurors. Two articles in Read's *Journal* amply prove this:

The Report which has been spread before and since the publick notice of the Act of Grace, that the Nonjuring Jacobite Conventicles are shut up, is altogether groundless, for they are as much (tho' more privately) frequented as ever: particularly that in Trinity Court near Aldersgate-Street, which has been repair'd and beautified. And that little Fragment of Divinity in Spittle-Fields likewise keeps up his Synagogue, into which none are admitted, but such as are well known to be of his own Stamp; and they are oblig'd to pass thro' a dark and long Passage, on the North side of this School of Iniquity.²

We are inform'd that Dr. Welton, noted for seditious Sermons, and for being turn'd out of his Benefice as a Popish Recusant Convict, because he would not take the Oaths, now keeps a Conventicle in a very public Place in Goodman's Fields, where he mocks God, as well as the Law, and prays for the royal Family in general Terms, without mentioning King GEORGE, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the rest of his Royal Issue, as by Law, all public Preachers ought to do. He and the chiefs of this abominable Conventicle admit none to see their May-game without

¹ *Op. cit.*, March 9, 1717. The prominence given the bishop of Thetford in this trial of March 2, 1717, explains Cibber's making Dr. Wolf a Bishop of Thetford in his play of December 6, 1717.

² *Ibid.*, August 3, 1717.

Tickets, which they think a necessary Precaution to prevent a Discovery of their seditious Practices; which ('tis hop'd) the Government will soon suppress.¹

Indeed, vindictiveness against the sect was so much an article in the Whig creed that it continued right up to the time of Gibber's play. The following is simply one more illustration:

Last Sunday, in the Morning Service, several Files of Soldiers, under the Command of a Serjeant from the Tower, Colonel Ellis, &c. Mr. Woster the High Constable of that Division, with several of his Civil Officers, stopt and secur'd all the Avenues of the Quondam Rector of White Chappel's Schismatical Assembly, or Nonjuring Meeting in Goodman's Fields, and sending for the Assistance of D'Oily Michel, Thomas Shoewel, and J. Hayns, Esqs; the next Justices of the Peace, tended the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration, appointed by Law, to each of them severally; the greatest part absolutely refus'd them, whose Names, Places of Habitation, and several Employments, were taken upon Oath, in order to be return'd at Hick's-Hall the next Sessions as Popish Recusants Convict. . . . The whole took up about Six Hours Time, which was manag'd with a great deal of Ease, without Disorder; so different are the Times now, and the Management too, from what they were not many Years ago. Next Day Dr. Welton, with two other Persons, rid out of Town, Booted, and Spur'd, with Pistols and Lap-Dogs, but upon what design we leave it to time to discover. N.B. Dr. Welton's Picture Sells now for as much as the Pretender's, in the time of the late Rebellion, and is worthy Hanging up—Any where.²

The inspiration of Cibber's play was furnished by this rabid persecution, the main points in which are included in his satire. The refusal of the Nonjurors to pray for the royal family, which as we have just seen the case of Welton had brought afresh to public attention, the alliance with Catholics with which they were so often charged, their often noted machinations with the Jacobites—to these points he adverted time and again.³ The participation of the

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² *Ibid.*, November 16, 1717.

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"Col. Sometimes, Doctor; but I don't remember, I ever Once heard you name them."

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"Sir John. . . . He is a true, staunch Member of the English Catholic Church."

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(Continued on p. 126)

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(Continued on p. 224)

women, noted by Newton,¹ he introduced into a speech of Dr. Wolf.² *The Case of Schism* was too notorious a document not to be taken as the bible of the cause. Sir John hands it to his son as an authoritative exposition of the principles of the sect;³ and Dr. Wolf refers to it⁴ for elucidation of the relations with Catholicism.⁵

The main burden of the satire is of course carried on the shoulders of Dr. Wolf, the villain. This English Tartuffe not only retains the

"Doct. . . . Well! The Catholicks are the sincerest Friends!" (*ibid.*, p. 35).

"Doct. . . . Would it not make one Smile; that it should ever enter into the Brains of this Man (who can in other Points distinguish like a Man) that a Protestant Church can never be secure, till it has a Popish Prince to defend it" (*ibid.*, p. 38).

"Mar. Then you were bred a *Roman-Catholick*.

"Charles. No, Madam; but I own in Principles of very little difference, which I imbib'd chiefly from this Doctor" (*ibid.*, p. 42).

"Lady W. . . . You don't take him sure for a *Roman Catholick*.

"Doct. Um—not absolutely—But, poor Soul! he little thinks how near he is one. 'Tis true, name to him but *Rome*, or *Poverty*, he startles, as at a Monster: But Gild its grossest Doctrines with the Stile of *English Catholick*, he swallows down the Poison, like a Cordial" (*ibid.*, pp. 84 f.).

"Doct. Charles, Step up into my Study, and bring down half a Dozen more of those Manual Devotions that I compos'd for the Use of our Friends in Prison" (*ibid.*, p. 21).

"Sir John. Then as to the State, he'll shortly be one of the most considerable Men in the Kingdom, and that too in an Office for Life; which, on whatsoever pretence of Misbehaviour, no Civil Government can deprive him of" (*ibid.*, p. 28).

"Laid out at several times for the Secret Service of His M—" (cf. *ante*, p. 107, for the list).

"Sir John. Well, Sir, what say our last Advices from *Avignon*?

"Doct. All goes right—The Council has approv'd our Scheme, and press mightily for Dispatch among our Friends in *England*" (*ibid.*, p. 35).

"Doct. . . . it being of the last Importance to us, that hope to change the Government to let it have no quiet" (*ibid.*, p. 37).

¹ Cf. William Newton, *The Life of the Right Reverend Dr. White Kennett*, p. 161.

² *The Non-Juror*, p. 37.

³ "Sir John. Difference! 'twould make you tremble, Sir, to know it! but since 'tis fit you should know it, lool there—(Gives him a Book) read that, and be reform'd.

"Col. What's here? (Reads) *The Case of Schism*, &c. Thank you, Sir; I have seen enough of this in the *Daily Courant*, to be sorry it's in any Hands, but those of the common Hangman" (*The Non-Juror*, p. 11).

⁴ "Doct. . . . and really, if you examine well the Doctrines laid down, by my learned Predecessor, in his *Case of Schism*, you will find those Differences are not so terribly material, as some obstinate Schismatics would paint them" (*ibid.*, p. 36).

⁵ Yet the wily author allowed himself a loophole for escape in case he were attacked. He made it appear that Dr. Wolf was not typical of the sect. The Colonel declares: "But he does nothing like other People; he's a Contradiction ev'n to his own Character: Most of your Non-Jurors now are generally People of a free and open Disposition, mighty Pretenders to a Conscience of Honour indeed: But you seldom see them put on the least Shew of Religion" (*op. cit.*, p. 32). Later in this second act he points out that the sect as a whole is sober and law-abiding. Sir John exclaims: "And truly, my Lord, we seem to be wrong too in another Point, to which I have often imputed the ill Success of our Cause; and that is, the taking into our Party so many loose Persons of dissolute and abandon'd Morals; Fellows, whom in their daily private Course of Life, the Pillory and Gallows seem to groan for." To which Dr. Wolf replies: "'Tis true indeed, and I have often wish'd 'twere possible to do without them, but in a Multitude all Men won't be

villainy of the original in Molière but is made as far as possible the ideal representative of the Whig view of the Nonjuror. His alliance with Catholicism is brought forward in his own declarations¹ as well as in the revelations concerning his past.² His Jacobitish activities are hinted at from the first,³ are developed in the second act,⁴ and for them he is taken into custody at the end of the play. But the most direct connection with the Nonjuring sect is in his elevation in Act II⁵ to the see of Thetford. The discovery of Hicks's writings⁶ and the trial of Howell⁷ had created too great a furore not to be alluded to in some way. Cibber speaks of Howell as following Hicks in the see of Thetford,⁸ though Thomas Brett or Henry Gandy would more properly be so considered. In all likelihood Cibber knew nothing of them. In any case, they were too obscure in the turmoil to be serviceable in the satire. The playwright's object was to hold up the nonjuring clergy to scorn, so that historical accuracy was worse than useless. What was necessary was to enlist

all Saints; and then again they are really useful; nay, and in many things, that Sober Men will not stoop to—They serve, poor Curs, to bark at the Government in the open Streets, and keep up the wholesome Spirit of Clamour in the common People" (*ibid.*, p. 36). These are, to be sure, left-hand compliments, but in the epilogue he points out that the only real Nonjuror in the play is respectable:

But hopes again ev'n Rebels cannot say
Tho' Vanquisht, they're Insulted in his Play:
Nay more—To set their Cause in fairest light,
H' has made a Man of Sense—A Jacobite!

¹ Cf. p. 123, n. 3, and p. 124, n. 4.

² "Col. . . . Here are Affidavits in my Hand, that prove him under his Disguise a lurking Emissary of Rome, that he is actually a Priest in Popish Orders, and has several times been seen, as such, to Officiate Publick Mass in the Church of *Nostre Dame* at Antwerp" (*op. cit.*, p. 92).

³ "Doct. . . . The Time's now yours, but mine may come.

"Col. What do you mean, Sir?

"Doct. Sir, I shall not explain my self. . . . But Power perhaps may change its Hands, and you o'er long, as little dare to speak your Mind as I do.

"Col. (*Taking him by the Collar.*) Hark you, Sirrah! Dare you menace the Government in my hearing?" (*ibid.*, p. 22).

"Col. So he pretends, and that he lost his Living in *Ireland* upon his refusing the Oaths to the Government" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

⁴ Cf. *ante*, p. 123, n. 3; also the following:

"Sir John. Where is he?

"Charles. In his own Chamber, Sir, just taking his leave of the Count and another Gentleman, that came this Morning Express from *Avignon*" (*ibid.*, pp. 30 f.).

"Sir John. O my good Lord, if our Court abroad but knew what Obligations they have to your indefatigable Endeavours" (*ibid.*, p. 37).

⁵ "Doct. Our last Express has brought me this—(*he shews a Writing.*) which (far unworthy, as I am) promoted me to the vacant See of *Thetford*!" (*ibid.*, p. 35).

⁶ Cf. *ante*, p. 119.

⁷ Cf. *ante*, pp. 116 ff.

⁸ Cf. *ante*, p. 124, n. 4.

in favor of his play the long-continued and at times violent hostility against the Nonjurors. So successful was this purpose of general ridicule that the identification of his villain with any one man was difficult. Dr. Wolf was declared to be "either *Paul*, who was hang'd, *Welton*, who lost his living, or *Howell*, in *Newgate*."¹ But the "Non-Juror" was quite wrong in denying that "the Aspersions cast upon Dr. *Wolf*, whom at the same time the Poet makes *Suffragan Bishop of Thetford*, have any relation to Dr. *Welton*, Mr. *Howel*, or the late Mr. *Paul*."² From their prominence in the agitation about the Nonjurors as revealed by the preceding study of the newspapers of that time, it seems pretty certain that Cibber had all three in mind. His purpose was not to paint a faithful portrait but to pen an effective satire. That could best be accomplished by delineating by general and easily recognizable traits, by seizing on salient points in the popular excitement concerning the Nonjurors.³

A final element was in all probability contributed to the play by the Bangorian controversy. Benjamin Hoadley had followed his *Preservative* with a sermon preached before the king on March 31, 1717, in which he maintained that no one person more than another had authority to make laws for Christ's subjects. Principles so subversive of the established church were at once attacked. For the fierce logomachy that followed, the pugnacious bishop had a most vulnerable heel. He had received as a tutor for his sons and kind of secretary a former Jesuit, François de la Pilonnière. In the suspicious theological atmosphere of 1717 that was evidence enough of the bishop's disloyalty to the church. The reproaches became so violent that he was at length forced to issue a reply. It was published as by De la Pilonnière himself, but there was a long

¹ Gay, p. 25.

² *Theatre-Royal Turn'd*, p. 34.

³ Other identifications for Dr. Wolf have been made. One appears in a pamphlet, *A Clue To the Comedy of the Non-Juror. With Some Hints of Consequence Relating to that Play. In a Letter to N. Rowe, Esq; Poet Laureat to His Majesty*, issued early in 1718, which in a second edition was entitled, *The Plot Discover'd: or, a Clue, etc.* Treating the play as an allegory in a highly laudatory manner, it devoted some four pages (9-13) to an identification of Wolf with Bishop Hoadley. To attack this valiant supporter of Whig views in matters ecclesiastical was the farthest remove possible from Cibber's thoughts. The other identification appears in Dr. John Doran's gossip *London in Jacobite Times*, I, 296, where Wolf is identified with the turn-coat Robert Patten, author of *A History of the late Rebellion*. As Patten had been indispensable to the government in several of its convictions, Cibber would have been more than careful not to allude to him.

preface by Hoadley, dated August 20, 1717. The first edition appeared on August 27, a second coming out on September 3.

In this agitation one may see the germ of Cibber's adaptation of the French masterpiece. The relation of the French Jesuit to the fighting bishop was similar enough to that of Tartuffe and Orgon to suggest taking over the whole plot. The heated agitation against the Nonjurors, the by that time well-established harmlessness of the Jacobites, the security of the government from malice domestic and foreign levy—all made the design of a satire on the sect and the party not only safe but certain to gain a great following and to win favor from the party in power.

A consideration of the theatrical season will support this surmise. The vacation that summer extended from Friday, June 7, to Saturday September 20. From Monday, June 9, to be sure, until Friday, August 22, a company headed by Mills presented plays regularly, but with this group of players Cibber evidently had nothing to do. Coming back to the theater, then, about the middle of September, refreshed by rest, and in the midst of the gossip about Lord Charles Murray and the renewed case of De la Pilonnière, a most suggestive conjunction for his plot, and with the familiar background of agitation against Jacobites and especially Nonjurors, it would be easy enough for the plot of his new play to shape itself in his imagination. As soon as completed it would of course be put in rehearsal to take advantage of the heated state of the public mind. The production, with its long-continued popularity and its memorable results for Cibber personally, justified him in his previsions of success.

View 1 in this light, *The Nonjuror* does not appear to contain the bold attack which Professor Ward finds in it. To say "that Cibber's caricature was legitimately designed to expose a real public evil, which threatened to fester like a sore in the commonwealth,"¹ is to accept rather unwarily Cibber's own declarations of his purpose.²

¹ A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 504, n. 4.

² "Of all Errors, those that are the Effect of *Superstition* make us naturally most obstinate; it is therefore no wonder, that the Blinded Proselytes of our Few Non-juring Clergy, are so hard to be recover'd by the clearest Evidences of Sense and Reason. But when a *Principle* is once made truly *Ridiculous*, it is not in the Power of Human Nature not to be *asham'd* of it. From which Reflection, I was first determined to attack those lurking Enemies of our Constitution from the Stage "(from the dedication to the king, *The Non-Juror*, p. iv). Cf. also the statement in his *Apology*, quoted ante p. 105.

The foregoing account of the points in his satire and of the vehement demonstrations recorded in the newspapers over the points included shows that instead of exposing a neglected situation he was merely making use of the topics most familiar to the public and therefore most certain of applause in the theater. The explanation of its deferred appearance till there was nothing further to fear from Jacobites and Nonjurors, and the evidences of the continued hostility to the Nonjurors up to the production of the play, show how little likely the sect was to remain unheeded, "to fester like a sore in the commonwealth." Cibber's own statement that the satire "discovered the Strength and Number of the *Misguided* to be much less, than may have been artfully insinuated,"¹ could not have been much of a surprise to him. An actor of some twenty-seven years' experience, a manager of the theater which had long been known as the Whig house, who for eight years had studied the tastes and prejudices of his public, as we see from his *Apology*, and who had through Sir Richard Steele and other connections ample opportunities to feel the public pulse, could be under little apprehension concerning the amount of hostility his play would meet with. But in any case that reception reveals how little venom there was left in the fangs of the disaffected, whether Nonjurors or others. Cibber was not leading a crusade against obscure evils in the state; he was attacking a hated but recognizedly powerless sect after the first surge of hostility had already given way to contempt.

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¹ *Op. cit.*, p. v.

